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SAFEGUARDING OUR SEAS

By JOEL GREENBERG
 Jerusalem Post Reporter

Three petrol bombs were thrown last night at an Israeli vehicle near the West Bank village of Azzoun, but no one was injured and no damage was done, a military spokesman said. The attack occurred shortly after an empty bottle was hurled at an Israeli car near the neighbouring town of Kalkilya.

Armed settlers drove a convoy of vehicles last night to Azzoun, which was put under curfew, the spokesman said. A curfew was also imposed on Kalkilya as troops searched the area and set up roadblocks to prevent a recurrence of Wednesday's rioting by settlers in the town.

In Nablus, a curfew was imposed in the casbah after a petrol bomb was

Petrol bombs, curfews on West Bank

thrown last night at an army vehicle, causing no injuries or damage.

The incident at the Kalkilya bypass where a bottle was thrown at a car driven by an Elon Moreh settler, was the third in the past week.

The driver identified the attacker as a boy of about 12. The location of the attack and supposed age of the assailant were identical with those reported in Tuesday's incident, which set off the rioting. Last Saturday night, a petrol bomb was hurled at a bus carrying Arab labourers inside Kalkilya but caused no injuries.

The attacks have persisted despite the uprooting of trees and construction of a fence along the road to the neighbouring settlement of Alfei Menashe.

Gush Emunim secretary-general Daniella Weiss yesterday refused to answer questions by police in Tulkarm about her role in Wednesday's rampage through Kalkilya, in which settlers smashed bottles and overturned garbage bins. Weiss, who arrived at the police station with about 20 supporters, said later she had refused to admit to the actions

she is suspected of, or to sign a document listing the allegations against her: disturbing the peace, damaging property, and entering a closed military zone. Weiss also refused to be fingerprinted, but agreed to return if summoned again. She was released on bail posted by another member of her settlement, Kedumim.

Police sources said that top priority had been given to the investigation of Weiss and four other Gush

(Continued on Page 19)

The Jerusalem Post poll

Public's support for unity gov't plunges

By HANOCH and RAFI SMITH
 Approval of the national unity government declined from 63 per cent on the eve of rotation last September to 32 per cent last month, the Smith Research Centre has found. In a poll conducted for *The Jerusalem Post*, the centre also found that approval for the handling of foreign policy has declined from 59 per cent to 41 per cent.

Fifty-five per cent thought that the Pollard affair was handled "badly," 22 per cent said it was handled "not so well," and only 13 per cent approved of the government's handling of the affair.

The 77 per cent negative vote on the government's handling of a foreign policy issue is unparalleled in Smith polls and the disapproval of the government's performance cut across party lines.

Opinion was more split on the issue of the extradition of convicted murderer William Nakash, with 41 per cent supporting immediate extradition to France, 8 per cent favouring extradition if no new facts



Presiding Judge Andre Cerdini (centre), flanked by assessors Gerard Becquet (left) and Andre Picherit (right), yesterday reads the list from which the jury for the trial of Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie will be chosen at the first hearing on Monday in the Lyon Criminal Court.



WJC President Edgar Bronfman dedicates a statue of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest yesterday. See story on page 3.

Waldheim vs. Bronfman

VIENNA (Reuters). - Austrian President Kurt Waldheim is to sue World Jewish Congress President Edgar Bronfman for slander, Waldheim's spokesman said yesterday.

He said the Vienna public prosecutor's office has been empowered to start proceedings against Bronfman.

Earlier this week Bronfman, who is in Budapest attending a meeting of the WJC, said: "I have seen enough documents...to know [Waldheim] was part and parcel of the Nazi killing machine."

The Post correspondent reports from Budapest:

Asked for his reaction now to Waldheim's action, Bronfman said: "You cannot expect me to take this seriously." Reminded of his offer to go to Vienna if Waldheim sues him, he responded: "I will cross the Danube bridge when I get to it." He added: "I don't take the suing seriously. I don't take Waldheim as a human being seriously. I only take the Austrian people seriously."

Shamir is unconvicted

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has not been convinced by dozens of American "clarifications," which were conveyed to him by Secretary of State George Shultz regarding the proposal for an international peace conference.

The director-general of the Prime Minister's Office, Yosef Ben-Aharon, told newsmen yesterday that an analysis of the American clarifications had exposed many risks and dangers in the proposals as advocated by Foreign Minister Peres. Specifically, Ben-Aharon said, there was still no clear indication that the international conference would not continue after the "ceremonial opening," that Israeli conditions for Soviet participation would be met, and that the PLO would be excluded from the conference.

Ben-Aharon stressed that, contrary to media reports, the prime minister had not solicited the clarifications from Washington. Shamir had been asked by the Americans to explain his concerns and had done so, while making it clear to Ambassador Thomas Pickering that he opposed the whole idea of an international peace conference.

Ben-Aharon said that Shamir had presented Shultz, during their meeting in February, with a different blueprint for peace with Jordan which was based on the Camp David accords. He gave no further details.

Egypt, Jordan not optimistic

By YEHUDA LITANI and Middle East staff

CAIRO. - Egyptian officials and foreign diplomats are reacting warily to euphoric Israeli reports of a virtual agreement with Israel on convening an international peace conference.

The sceptical mood prevails despite statements this week by Egyptian and Jordanian leaders conceding that a peace conference may, indeed, open without the PLO and without expectations of a complete Israeli withdrawal to its pre-1967 borders.

Egyptian Prime Minister Ataf Sedki said in Amman on Wednesday: "I fear that...the conference might be convened without the PLO if it persists in rejecting UN Resolutions 242 and 338." Sedki, however, rejected suggestions that Egypt and Jordan were seeking a substitute for the PLO.

Earlier this week, Jordan's King Hussein said that demands that Israel withdraw from all the territories captured in 1967 were "not realistic." In an interview with the *Boston Globe*, Hussein also said a solution for Jerusalem could not mean dividing the city once again.

Jordanian Foreign Minister Taber al-Masri sounded another positive note vis-à-vis Israel yesterday after a meeting with his Egyptian counterpart Esmat Abdel-Meguid in Amman.

Al-Masri said Jordan and Egypt would continue efforts to convene an international peace conference based on "guaranteeing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and advancing the stability of all parties concerned in the area."

(Continued on Page 17)

Eurovision duo work out

By ABRAHAM RABINOVITCH
 Jerusalem Post Correspondent

BRUSSELS. - Cutting their own way through the low ground between buffoonery and banality, Israel's two competitors in this year's Eurovision song contest are planning to deliver a subliminal message to 500 million TV viewers tomorrow night that may be one of the most telling messages Israeli representatives have had occasion to deliver in recent years.

The message - *Hule, Hule* - was already being chanted back at them yesterday by local children led piper-fashion by the two performers, Avi Kushnir and Natan Dattner, through the narrow streets of the walled city of Brugge which they visited during a tour of the country. The nonsense refrain - selected as the title of the English version of the song, "Shir Haharlanim" (The Idler's Song) - has been widely picked up by European viewers who have seen excerpts of the Eurovision song on television. The refrain and Dattner's and Kushnir's Blues Brothers' dance routine have made the Israelis' entry stand out for its verve and nerve.

"Israel must be a cheerful country," said a European journalist to an Israeli colleague. "At least that's the impression I get from the songs you send to Eurovision."

That is precisely the impression the performers would like to leave. "The Jews have always been characterized by a sense of humour," said Dattner yesterday, "but for some reason it's a quality never connected with Israel. It's time it was."

(Continued on Page 19)

Cautious Palestinian reaction

By JOEL GREENBERG
 Jerusalem Post Reporter

Palestinians with links to Jordan were cautious yesterday about reports that an agreement had been reached with Amman on a joint Israeli-Jordanian administration for Jerusalem. They all said they knew nothing of such an agreement.

"It's all rumours, and the real question remains the issue of sovereignty," said Anwar al-Khatib, a former Jordanian governor of Jerusalem.

Hikmat al-Masri, deputy speaker of the Jordanian senate, said that he believed agreement could only be reached on leaving Jerusalem an open and undivided city, with Jordanian sovereignty over the eastern half and Israeli control of the Western part.

Jordanian member of parliament Amin Majaj was sceptical that a solution could be found in Jerusalem in isolation from the broader issue of the territories. "If all the rest of the problems are not solved, such an arrangement will be very difficult to operate," he said.

"The issue of Jerusalem is part of a whole problem, and unless a solution can be found to this whole problem, these arrangements [in Jerusalem] will be only cosmetic steps."

Former Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa said the proposed stationing of Jordanian police in East Jerusalem would not solve the broader issues of who would run the economic and social life of the city.

Jerusalem was an object of interest throughout the Arab and Mos-

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6 hurt in terror blast

KIRYAT GAT (Itim). - Six people were lightly wounded yesterday afternoon when an explosive device went off in a shopping centre here. Three were treated on the spot and sent home; the others were taken to Ashkelon's Barzilai Hospital, and two of them were subsequently sent home.

The device, which was concealed in a garbage bin, went off at 12:45 near the Beit Hapri cafe, which is generally full as it shows continuous video movies. Two cars parked nearby were damaged.

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The Jerusalem Post has plenty of fine reading throughout the week, with penetrating insights and articles of local interest, regional importance and worldwide interest:

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- ★ The New York Times Weekly Review - Mondays
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BRUSSELS	5	48	17	Cloudy
BIRMINGHAM	14	37	16	Cloudy
CHICAGO	4	49	24	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	6	43	16	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	3	34	14	Cloudy
GENEVA	7	44	11	Clear
HELSINKI	5	41	12	Cloudy
HONGKONG	13	73	29	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	8	46	23	Clear
LEDS	13	25	28	77
LONDON	7	45	17	Clear
MADRID	4	39	13	Clear
MONTREAL	8	46	12	Clear
NEW YORK	2	36	14	Clear
OSLO	2	36	14	Clear
PARIS	5	41	14	Clear
RIODEJANEIRO	28	48	31	Clear
SAO PAULO	17	42	25	77
STOCKHOLM	6	43	16	Cloudy
TOKYO	15	29	34	78
TORONTO	3	37	24	75
VIENNA	7	45	12	Clear
ZURICH	5	41	14	Clear

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of EC
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yesterday
gave a
reception
at Morgan's
residence
in Herzliya
to mark the
EC's 30th
anniversary.

Birth

SHAPIRO. - A son, to Zev and Zippora Shapiro, Beit Yattir, on Iyar 3, 5747-May 1, 1987, brother to Re'em, Yakir, Noam and Ruth, grandson to Moshe and Barbara Kohn and David and Doris Shapiro, Jerusalem, great-grandson to Mary Shalowitz, Dond du Lac, Wisconsin.

ARRIVALS

Cantons Solomon Mendelson and Abraham Shapiro, officers of the Cantors Assembly, to prepare for their 40th annual congress, to be held in Jerusalem, July 9-21.

Tindemans due here tomorrow

BRUSSELS (Reuter). - Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans will arrive in Israel tomorrow and is expected to restate the support of the 12-nation European Community for an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Belgian Foreign Ministry officials said Tindemans would meet both Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres.

The community agreed in February to throw its weight behind moves for a United Nations sponsored peace conference, and Tindemans, whose country currently holds the EC presidency, has already visited Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia to promote the initiative.

IDF-UN get-together

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TIBERIAS. - Officers serving with United Nations forces in Lebanon and along the Syrian border praised the get-together with senior IDF personnel here on Wednesday night.

They said that the reception, hosted by OC Northern Command Aluf Yossi Peled to mark the 39th anniversary of Israel's independence, was a positive way of overcoming unnecessary tensions.

A UN officer said lack of understanding occasionally led to friction

Gaza stone-throwers

By BRADLEY BURSTON
For The Jerusalem Post
GAZA. - Prisons Service guards chased suspected stone-throwing youths through a major Gaza square yesterday, after the guards' bus was hit by stones and other objects.

Some 30 guards from the Tel Aviv area were travelling to work in Gaza Prison when their bus was attacked near Medina Square. The guards asked the driver to stop the bus, and after a short chase apprehended two suspected stone-throwers, whom they turned over to police for questioning.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Eban parries Labour barbs as probe enters final stage

Post Knesset Correspondent
Members of the Knesset body studying the Pollard espionage affair will on Monday present their reactions to 14 focal points drafted by chairman Abba Eban, following many weeks of almost daily hearings.

The collation of these reactions is the final stage before the actual writing of the report.

The sub-committee of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, responsible for overseeing the intelligence and security services, has produced over 1,500 pages of protocols, in four bulky files, relating to the Pollard affair. This includes testimony and answers to questions from more than 30 people and documents submitted.

Some of Eban's 14 points refer to issues of principle such as ministerial responsibility, while others touch on specific sections of the testimony. Members are asked, for instance, how they assess the credibility of the various officials who testified.

Eban yesterday morning denied a report on Israel Television stating that his sub-committee had pinned much of the blame on Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and that its final conclusions were already taking shape.

Eban's denial followed an angry demand from Rabin that he either deny the TV report or publish his conclusions forthwith. Rabin also charged that the sub-committee had been "spewing out a stream of tendentious leaks from the first moment."

Organizers feared poor turnout

Organizers of a demonstration in Tel Aviv to mark the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel, feared a poor turnout. The demonstration was scheduled for Sunday, May 10, at the Tel Aviv Museum.

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Rabin phoned Eban in the presence of the Alignment ministers (the group called *sarebuv*) after they had all watched the television report.

Feeling is running high against Eban among the Alignment ministers, *The Jerusalem Post* understands. They fear that the sub-committee's eventual report, which may well damage the Alignment more than the Likud, could reflect what they believe is a grudge that Eban holds against his colleagues.

In the words of one inside source in the Labour leadership, "There is a feeling that Eban has put out a contract on all of us, and that means that we will have to put out a contract on Eban."

Foreign Minister Peres yesterday said that "all the leaks to the media" from the committee "are aimed against Labour ministers."

He told party members in Tel Aviv that the committee comprised politicians "who share in the collective responsibility" for the government's actions. He said that the "committee is entitled to say what it wants, but the ministers are also entitled to argue."

Peres attacked critics of the way the Pollard affair was handled, saying, "If anyone thinks that Israel should not have cooperated with Secretary of State George Shultz, he should have said so then."

Peres referred to the Pollard inquiries as "incidental matters intended to divert attention from the main issues."

Lavi up for review

Post Defence Reporter
TEL AVIV. - The inner cabinet is expected to discuss the future of the Lavi programme next Wednesday amid widespread speculation that Defence Minister Rabin will support continuation of the programme if the government allocates more money for it.

In the past few months, the defence establishment has examined various alternatives to the programme, including one presented by the General Staff which recommended scrapping the project, buying F-16Cs and using remaining funds for other projects.

Some sources believe Rabin will opt for the Lavi if the government allocates an extra \$100 million a year for it.

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Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein embraces Kalkiliya local council chairman Abdel-Rahman Abu-Sneineh yesterday, on a visit to the town in the wake of the violent demonstration there on Wednesday by supporters of Gush Emmunim. (Scoop 80)

Arens promises Druse they'll get their money

By DAVID RUDGE

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAHARIYA. - Some NIS 200 million will be forwarded to Druse communities in the next few weeks, Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens told Druse local council leaders here yesterday.

The money is this year's instalment of a new five-year NIS 150m. plan approved by the government to equalize spending in the Druse and Jewish sectors.

Druse local council leaders asked Arens yesterday if the plan could be completed within three years instead of five. Arens promised to look into the matter.

Dr. Hamed Sa'ab, secretary of the Druse association of local councils, said the top spending priorities were sewer developments and classroom construction.

In Beit Jann yesterday, Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein proposed establishing an arbitration committee to help resolve the land dispute between residents of this strike-bound Druse village and the Nature Reserves Authority.

During a visit to the village, Rubinstein suggested that the committee should comprise Beit Jann local council chairman Shafik Assad, a representative of the authority and Druse MK Zaidan Atshe.

Municipal services in the village have been at a standstill for a month and schools have been on strike for two weeks in an effort to press the government to intervene in the dispute.

The residents claim ownership of 10,000 dunams of land around the village which have been designated a nature reserve.

Assad, who maintained that a person has the right to build a home on his own land, said the strike would continue despite Rubinstein's recommendations. The local council chairman, referring to the government's recent decision to grant equal rights to all Druse and Circassians, said they wanted "action not words."

IDF medic "not under arrest"

Post Defence Reporter

The IDF medic caught speaking to a London Times reporter earlier this week is not under arrest, though he will be tried, an authoritative military source told *The Jerusalem Post* last night.

The soldier, who is serving in Nahal, was detained for several hours after being seen in a Jerusalem cafe. He was released after questioning.

The source said he did not believe the soldier harmed state security. Nevertheless, he will be tried, because standing orders require that soldiers receive permission and a briefing before talking to reporters on any subject, even if it is unconnected with their military service.

Infertility Forest flourishes in Haifa

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. - The "Infertility Forest" had its 800th tree planted on Mt. Carmel this week.

Each of the trees in the copse marks the birth of a baby to women with fertility problems who were successfully treated by Dr. Shlomo Carmel of Kupat Holim Limi Clinic here.

The copse, which is growing at a considerable pace, was initiated by Carmel himself.

The World Family of Keren Hayesod - United Israel Appeal

Deeply mourns the passing of

MAX EPSTEIN

'Entering the Dark Ages,' Bishop Tutu says

Stunning win for South African extremists

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters). — South Africa's ruling National Party (NP) retained power yesterday with a landslide victory in all-white elections which strengthened the hand of apartheid hardliners pressing for rigid racial segregation.

The extreme right-wing Conservative Party polled more than 26 per cent of the vote, taking over from the liberal Progressive Federal Party (PFP) as the biggest opposition group in the white chamber of parliament.

With all the 166 seats decided, President P.W. Botha's right-wing NP had 123 seats, the Conservative 22 and the PFP 19.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a news conference: "I believe we have entered the Dark Ages in the history of our country."

The staunchly anti-apartheid PFP, largely supported by English-speaking whites, were the biggest losers in the campaign, which focused on law and order and measures to curb black political unrest. The party lost eight seats.

Although the Conservatives only increased their representation from 18 to 22 seats, their share of the vote rose dramatically in rural and mining areas of the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

"The result is a fundamental rejection of black rights," said political scientist Robert Schrire. "Blacks will believe that whites have turned their back on reform and a hopeful scenario for a future South Africa is difficult to justify."

Political analysts said the swing to the right would discourage NP plans for race reforms, encourage tougher action to crush agitation by the black majority for political rights and intensify world pressure on Pretoria.

Western diplomats also saw the result as a clear swing to the right and probably an invitation for fresh pressure from foreign governments which have imposed limited anti-apartheid sanctions.

"Although theoretically Botha will have no excuses for not pursuing reform, he will have to keep looking over his right shoulder," one diplomat said.

Amid jubilation in pro-government newspapers, the despondent mood among liberals was summed up by an editorial in *Business Day* entitled: "Moderation takes a thrashing as South African whites vote right."

It said the result served notice that white South Africa "would rather fight than switch."

The leader of the KwaZulu homeland, Man-

gosuthu Buthelesi, said he was appalled by the result, which meant there would now be no real negotiations between black and white at the national level.

One black student called the result a vote for revolution. On Wednesday more than one million blacks staged a massive protest against their exclusion from the poll.

A hopeful trio of moderate nationalist rebels managed to gain only one seat.

Former ambassador to London Denis Worrall, who had defected from the NP, failed to gain a seat, losing by only 39 votes to Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis, architect of the government's apartheid reforms.

In the central Johannesburg constituency of Hillbrow, where thousands of non-whites have moved in defiance of laws declaring it for whites only, the NP defeated the PFP's liberal candidate who had campaigned for relaxation of residential apartheid. Botha had pledged to retain the segregation of suburbs.

The president had called the early election, saying he wanted public backing to pursue his brand of cautious reforms, which have been rejected by the 25 million black majority.

Instead, he received a clear signal that even the careful changes made so far were opposed

by many of his Dutch-descended Afrikaner community, in which there was widespread fear that he was leading the country to black majority rule.

Highlighting public resentment about talk of integrating five million whites with 29 million non-whites, the NP unseated Natal province politicians who last year proposed a blueprint for power-sharing with the black majority in the area.

Since declaring a national state of emergency last June, the government has detained thousands of opponents in an effort to quell black unrest which has claimed 2,500 lives in the past three years.

During the campaign, Botha told voters the crackdown was not complete and said he sought a mandate to carry through the fight against radicals in black townships.

Two bomb blasts soon after polling ended caused serious damage to the Johannesburg headquarters of the largest black labour federation. Police said there were no casualties and investigations were continuing.

The government yesterday reported scores of firebomb and stoning attacks across the country on Wednesday in which more than a dozen people were injured and more than 30 arrests were made.

Most SA Jews for PFP

By A Special Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — With the National Party reinstated following Wednesday's all-white elections in South Africa, many people are asking where the Jewish vote went.

Although they are generally a closely-knit community, South Africa's 120,000 Jews differ in certain aspects, one of which is politics.

Most Jewish support is believed to lie with the anti-apartheid Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the National Republican Party, with a fair percentage backing the ruling National Party (NP). The ultra-right-wing Herstigte National Party (HNP) and Conservative parties, with their anti-Semitic policies, naturally have very meagre Jewish support.

A number of Jewish candidates stood for election, the vast majority for the PFP and the remainder for the NP.

MP Harry Schwarz, who was re-elected on the PFP ticket, said yesterday: "I find it distressing that so many Jews support the National Party. I cannot support apartheid as it goes against my ethical values. Unfortunately, there are many Jews brought up with the same ethics who still support apartheid."

Schwarz believes that many Jews support the NP either out of fear or because they have been "conditioned" by its propaganda. Others are strongly convinced that "black-

rule would be unacceptable.

Conflicting comments came from Jews questioned outside the polling booths on Wednesday. They ranged from, "We owe it to the Nats. They have been good to us," to the arguments of PFP supporters: "With our history, we have no right to vote for the oppressors."

The younger voters seem to have a different political outlook.

According to the national chairman of the South African Union of Jewish Students (SAUJS), Howard Sackstein, it is not a question of voting for the left or the right but rather whether or not to take part in an election that "has little to do with the real issues of South African politics."

"SAUJS endorses the calls for 'one person-one vote' in a unitary South Africa," he stressed. "We believe that it is the policy to which all Jewish students should strive. All this is compounded by the belief that a tyranny of violence and racial persecution can never be supported by any Jewish person."

Although the elections were limited to whites over the age of 18, the largest Jewish day school in South Africa, King David Linksfield, held a mock election for its high school pupils. The results showed that 67% supported the PFP while 22% voted for the NP. The school has a number of non-Jewish pupils.

British general election date seen scheduled for June 11

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
LONDON. — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is almost certain to announce on Monday that she will be calling a general election on June 11.

Cabinet members were yesterday told to stand by for a special meeting at Downing Street on Monday morning, at which Thatcher is expected to confirm that the campaign is on.

It is widely accepted in Westminster that only disastrous results in local elections held around Britain

yesterday will stop Thatcher going to the country next month.

She has already scheduled an "election summit" at her Chequers residence for Sunday, at which top advisers like party chairman Norman Tebbit and Deputy Premier William Whitelaw will analyse the result of the local voting.

The Conservatives are not expected to do particularly well — particularly since the "Falklands factor" helped them to make substantial gains the last time the seats were contested in 1983. But nor are they likely to do too badly, given the current chaos in the Labour Party and the recent encouraging economic news.

Sterling is soaring daily against the dollar, and foreign currency reserves are at unusually high levels, while public faith in the main Labour opposition is at something of a low.

Labour leader Neil Kinnock has yet to assert himself as a credible challenger to Thatcher.

BUDAPEST DIARY / Ilona Henry

Young versus old at WJC meet

The best thing about it was the good Hungarian food, commented one of the delegates at the World Jewish Congress's executive meeting in Budapest, which began on Tuesday.

It is evident that the WJC, which brought 90 Jewish leaders from 30 countries to this Eastern bloc capital, is torn over two issues.

First, there is the generation gap. And then there is the frustration of the Europeans with the U.S. leadership.

The leadership of the WJC is young, dynamic and American. Many of the European delegates — all elderly men who hold prestigious positions in their home communities and who failed to bring along members of the younger generation — think nostalgically of the days when Nahum Goldmann would open the deliberations with a stirring talk.

There is no doubt that the North Americans have taken over the lead. They treat the elderly Europeans with deference and proceed to make their own decisions.

At the start of every session, the Europeans initiate some ideas. But in the course of the events, they are generally forced to give up and show their frustration.

A case in point is the Waldheim

issue. Both West German representative Werner Nachmann and Paul Grosz of Austria tried to air their

discomfort with the handling of the issue. Nachmann was quoted by the *Welt am Sonntag* as saying that the WJC must put the Waldheim documents on the table or drop the subject "because the case is harming the Jews." Observers predicted a big row over the question. Nachmann was forced to drop the initiative without discussion.

A call for greater autonomy for the European branches was likewise killed before it was brought up on the agenda.

WJC President Edgar Bronfman succeeded in pacifying his critics by his unexpected appeal for reconciliation between the Jews and the Austrian people.

The Austrian and West German media representatives had virtually come for an expected row over this question, felt most disappointed.

Yesterday war-time Swedish diplomat, Raoul Wallenberg, who saved thousands of Hungarian Jews from the Holocaust before being arrested by the Soviets in 1945, was honoured at the dedication of a new monument to his memory. The statue was erected on the spot where the diplomat's car was found after his abduction.

Bronfman, draped in a blue-and-white ribbon of honour over the three-metre bronze cast of a somber Wallenberg, flanked by two slabs of pink Swedish granite etched with a

gold design of a man grappling with a snake patterned with swastikas.

The monument is the work of Hungarian sculptor Imre Varga. Its design harks back to an earlier statue of Wallenberg which disappeared soon after its erection in 1947.

It bears a Latin inscription translated as: "While good fortune stands by your side, friends are plenty around. But should grey clouds gather, you are alone to withstand the storm."

"The name of Wallenberg has not been mentioned in the sparse Hungarian reporting on the WJC meeting. But a group of Hungarian children laid posies by the statue, on the Buda side of the Hungarian capital.

Bronfman lauded Wallenberg as "a great, courageous and marvellous man."

In a message Wallenberg's young sister, Nina, made an impassioned appeal for worldwide efforts to determine her brother's fate.

The Soviets have said the Swede died in Moscow's Lubyanka jail in 1947. But prisoners returning from Soviet camps after that date reported seeing a Swede fitting Wallenberg's description.

"We continue to believe that Raoul is alive. That is why I appeal to all of you... to find a way to help free Raoul," she said. "Raoul can not wait. He will be 75 on August 4."

Guinness chief charged

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — Former Guinness chairman Ernest Saunders was yesterday charged at Bow Street Magistrates' Court with perverting the course of justice and destroying and falsifying documents relating to Guinness's takeover of the Distillers drinks group last year.

Saunders was bailed into his solicitor's charge until Tuesday, and was ordered to raise £200,000 in sureties by then. His passport was confiscated and he was specifically forbidden to make contact with any past or present Guinness employees.

Saunders was arrested late on Wednesday, when he arrived in Britain from Switzerland to answer Department of Trade investigators' questions relating to the Distillers takeover and to funds paid out by Guinness during the takeover battle.

U.S. Senate approves trillion-dollar budget

WASHINGTON (AP). — The Senate approved a one-trillion-dollar fiscal 1988 budget early yesterday that challenges President Ronald Reagan to accept a tax increase to pay for a boost in military spending.

The spending plan passed 56 to 42, with the vote mostly along party lines. Despite calling for increased taxes, freeing many domestic programmes and holding back Reagan's military buildup, the budget would fail to comply with the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law. It would leave a deficit of about \$134 billion while the law mandates no more than \$108 billion in red ink.

White House spokesman Albert

Brashear said Reagan opposes the budget.

The opposition Democrats, who control the Senate, said it was a responsible fiscal blueprint.

"This debate is over whether we're going to borrow more money

or if we're going to start living a little bit within our means," said Senator Lawton Chiles, a Democrat and chairman of the Senate Budget Committee.

Senate majority leader Robert Byrd, also a Democrat, said the budget "should give confidence to our nation's financial markets, confidence to our trading partners and confidence to the American people that the Congress is addressing the budget deficit in a responsible manner."

The budget was revised on Wednesday to provide \$290.6 billion for the Pentagon — \$7 billion more than the Democrats had originally proposed.

But the extra money would be released only if Reagan signs legislation enacting the budget's higher taxes, which also were revised upward by about \$7 billion to \$18.3 billion in 1988, and to \$118.8 billion over four years.



This undated file photo shows Italian Marquise Fiammetta Frescobaldi, 27, of Florence who was recently linked romantically to Prince Charles by British press reports. (AFP telephoto)

Secord 'badgered' in third day of hearings

WASHINGTON. — The Iran-Contra hearings turned testy yesterday as retired Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord insisted that he never made a personal profit from his role in arranging arms sales to Iran and for the Nicaraguan rebels.

"I did not come here to be badgered," said Secord, 54, who was testifying under oath without immunity as the joint House-Senate hearings entered their third day.

Under questioning from U.S. Senate Counsel Arthur Liman, Secord said he forswore any profits generated by the deal and left them to his business partner, Albert Hakim, "to do (with them) what he wished."

"Of course it's the fact or I wouldn't have testified to it," Secord shot back at Liman at one point when the lawyer questioned him about information he had provided to the committee on Wednesday.

Later, Secord dismissed Liman's questions as focusing on a "technical" bookkeeping question when there were more important matters to attend to.

On Wednesday, Secord said that, based on statements to him by top presidential aides, he believed that President Ronald Reagan was aware of his involvement in the sale of arms to Iran and diversion of some of the profits to the Nicaraguan rebels. The White House promptly denied that Reagan knew of any diversion.

Documents released on the second day of hearings contained the first indication that private donors deposited money directly into Swiss bank accounts controlled by Secord and Hakim.

A handwritten notation by Secord shows that Joseph Coors, a millionaire Colorado brewery owner who is a strong supporter of Reagan, put \$65,000 into one of the accounts.

A deposition taken in Paris last month from Hakim was also released, providing new details on the bank accounts involved. Hakim, who was granted limited immunity from prosecution, said he managed 13 separate accounts, consisting of \$30 million from the arms sales and an additional \$18m. in donations for the Contras from a variety of sources.

In other testimony yesterday, Secord:

— said North had told him of a plan to divert profits from the Iran Arms sales as early as November 1985. The extra funds were generated by Israel's involvement in the first shipments of arms to Iran months before the U.S. began its own direct shipments in early 1986.

A report by a commission appointed by Reagan, made public on February 26, quoted North as telling Attorney General Edwin Meese the idea to divert Iran funds to the Contras had come from an Israeli official in January 1986.

— said he understood Reagan had acquiesced in the initial Israeli shipments of U.S. arms to Iran, in August and September 1985, and that the White House had altered a chronology of events to show Reagan gave approval only after the fact.

— described Paris and London meetings in December 1985 at which Iranian businessman Manucher Ghorbanifar wanted to swap U.S. weapons for "boxes" code for American hostages held in Lebanon; — admitted he shredded documents late last year after the scandal became public and newspaper accounts surfaced of his Contra supply operations during 1984-86, when official U.S. aid to the rebels was against the law.

(AP, AFP, Reuters)

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By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Shas officials were dumbfounded yesterday by party leader MK Yitzhak Peretz's apparent volte-face on foreign policy, favouring an international conference and even supporting talks with the PLO.

The statement brought a sharp response from former chief rabbi Ovadia Yosef, one of the party mentors, who said he would "call Peretz to order." Party activists could not say if Peretz had decided to form an alliance with the Alignment.

Last night, however, Peretz said that his comments expressed his personal opinion and did not represent that of the party or its Council of Torah Sages.

His statements came only a day after talking to Energy Minister Moshe Shaleh (Alignment) and Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon (Likud) concerning an international conference.

As for an alliance between Shas

Support for peace conference 'personal view only'

Peretz turnabout shocks Shas

and the Alignment, Shas activists said the only significant concession the Alignment could make would be to solve the problem over the registration of non-Orthodox converts.

For weeks, Peretz and his Shas Party have been complaining about the failure of the Likud to get them out of the morass into which Peretz led them when he refused to register non-Orthodox converts as Jews.

In what appeared to be a total turnaround, Peretz unexpectedly said yesterday that Foreign Minister Shimon Peres's plan for an international conference was "a wonderful idea."

Peretz said he would hold talks with PLO leader Yasser Arafat if the

latter gave up terror and accepted Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, thus recognizing Israel.

Later, Peretz said that he meant that the PLO would have to disband; and still later, he said he could never sit down with those "whose hands are stained with blood."

Since it was formed, shortly before the last elections, Shas has been allied with the Likud, largely because of the major religious concessions that that party has been willing to make, and the affinity most Shas supporters have for the Likud's hawkish foreign policy.

Yesterday, Peretz said that his views had been transformed during the year he was in office. Yitzhak Raphael and Zevulun Hammer of

the National Religious Party also moved from hawkish to dovish views while in office.

Both the Alignment and the Likud have been courting Shas as the rift between the two major parties widens over the issue of the international conference.

Political commentators have suggested that the Peretz statement represented either a change of outlook or an attempt to pressure the Likud. They also held out the possibility that Peretz is interested in bringing elections closer, at a moment when Shas appears stronger than its rival, Agudat Yisrael, which is in disarray.

Peretz is a founder of Gush Emu-

nim, and was present at the first *minyan* held by that group in Sebastia, near Nablus. But he has been under the continued influence of Rabbi Eliezer Schach, Shas's mentor and an outspoken dove. Schach has ruled that to give up a part of the Land of Israel in the interests of peace is a matter of *pikuah nefesh*, the saving of life, for which all else may be sacrificed.

On the level of realpolitik, a source from Agudat Yisrael recalled an earlier occasion when the Likud had balked at making concessions to his party. A headline in one paper, indicating that the Aguda might join forces with the Alignment, brought the Likud around within hours.

"It is the only language they [the Likud] understand," the Aguda source said, "and perhaps Rabbi Peretz has learned this by now."

There is even a possibility, the Aguda source said, that the Aguda could join in Peretz's opening to Peres, thus putting sufficient pressure on the Likud to make them modify their rejection of an international conference.

Meanwhile, Peretz has already come under attack from MK Ya'acov Yosef, the son of former Sephardi chief rabbi Ovadia Yosef, who said that Peretz could not establish party policy without consulting the Council of Torah Sages, which Rabbi Yosef heads. But MK Yosef has been something of a party pariah ever since he refused to support Peretz on the convert issue in the Knesset Law Committee.

Peretz did, however, speak with Rabbi Yosef and said afterwards that he had explained his position to him.

Local Coke can't stop diarrhea

By JUDY SIEGEL

Post Science and Health Reporter

Coca-Cola is not "it" — at least the Israeli version isn't, when used to treat severe diarrhea in children. Coke and other drinks are used frequently as a remedy for dehydration, but unlike American soft drinks the locally made ones do not have the same effect.

This is the conclusion of two researchers at Soroka Hospital and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheva, who present their work in the latest issue of *Harefuah*, the Israel Medical Association journal.

Z. Weitzman and S. Mozes, of the Department of Pediatrics and the Faculty of Health Sciences, decided to study Israeli soft drinks in view of the fact that many parents automatically give their children large quantities of them when they have diarrhea. The scientists studied sodium and potassium levels in 10 beverages, bottled in Israel, including Coca-Cola, colas by Schweppes, Tabari and Tempo, several non-carbonated beverages, as well as instant chicken soup.

The World Health Organization recommends giving liquids with 90 meq per litre of sodium and 20 meq of potassium; the local drinks ranged from 4.3 to 9.9 meq of sodium per litre and 0 to 4 meq of potassium. An instant soup by Telma was very salty, with 160.2 meq of sodium.

The right mix of salt and sugar dissolved in water has a miraculous effect on children with severe diarrhea, who might otherwise become dangerously dehydrated. Doctors around the world, especially in underdeveloped countries where millions of children die of diarrhea every year, recommend salt-sugar solutions. These are prepared from packets to which water is added. In Israel, Tova manufactures Hydram, a supply of which should be kept in homes where there are children.

The researchers note that the instant soup could compound problems if given to someone with diarrhea, because of its very high sodium levels.

They therefore recommend using the prepared packets of dehydrated salts and sugars in preference to soft drinks and instant soup.

It was not explained why the Israeli-bottled Coca-Cola should be so different from the American drink, whose salt and sugar levels are more appropriate, but not as good as those of the packet solutions.

One explanation, however, may be the differences in the water used.

Polish Jewry Prizes given to poet, academics

TEL AVIV (Itim). — The 1987 Polish Jewry Prizes were awarded yesterday to poet Avraham Sutzkover, philosopher Nathan Rotenstreich and literature Professor Dov Sadan by the congress of the World Union of Polish Jews meeting here this week.

The congress called on the Polish government to hand over the historical archives of Polish Jewry to Israel and Jewish institutions. It also called on the Polish authorities to permit ancient Jewish artifacts to be transferred to Israel.

IN PERSON

BENNY MORRIS

Catalan ties with Israel

"I hope the international peace conference will take place and will be successful. But I would not wish to advise Israel's leaders [on what to do] because they, of course, know much more about the problems than I do," said Jordi Pujol as we parted yesterday, before his meeting with Foreign Minister Peres.

Pujol, the president of Catalonia, an autonomous province of Spain, today winds up his five-day visit to Israel, in which he focused on developing Israeli-Catalan economic relations. Catalonia, he says, accounts for 40-50 per cent of Israeli-Spanish trade, which currently involves \$126 million Spanish exports to Israel and \$55 million imports from Israel.

Pujol, who spent some years in a Spanish jail under Franco during Catalonia's struggle for autonomy, is careful to distinguish between Spain and Catalonia when it comes to Israel. He points out that "even when the Spanish government opposed establishing relations with Israel, the Catalonians were always [for relations]."

He points to Catalonia's special history and separate language (Catalan) as the source "of the Catalan

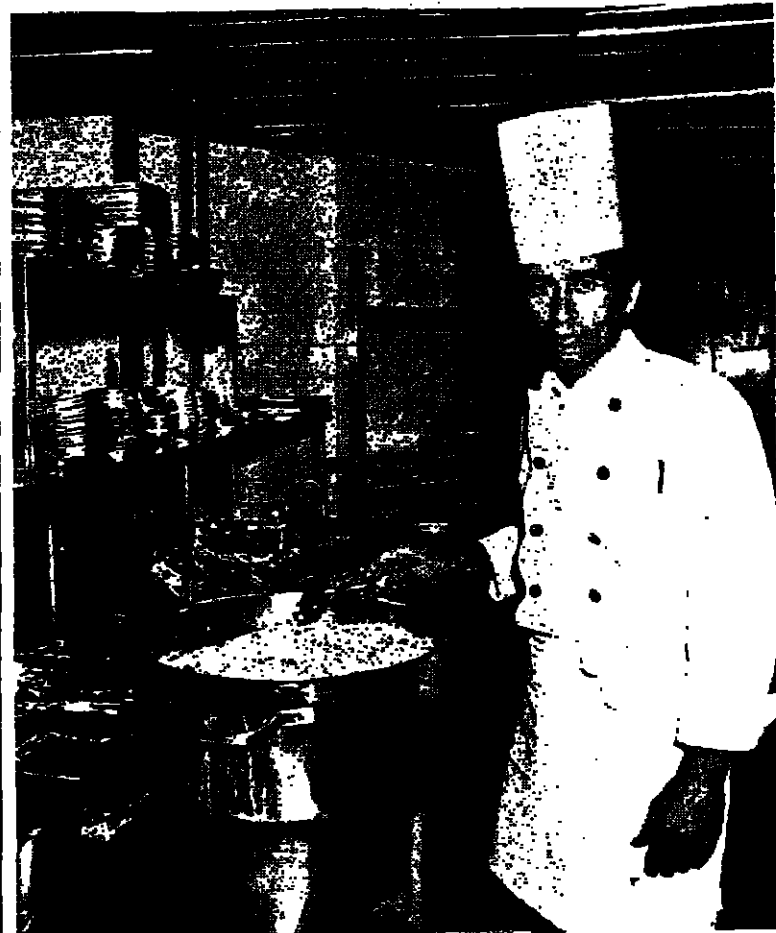


President Jordi Pujol

people's very special friendliness towards Israel and Zionism." The Catalonians also for centuries fought for recognition of their national rights and special national-cultural identity, "for survival," and so sympathized with the Jewish people's similar quest, he says.

Pujol believes "this is a very good moment for substantially strengthening Israel-Catalan, and Israeli-Spanish relations." He identifies three propitious factors: Spain's entry into the European Community, "which obliges Spain to open up its economy"; the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries (last year); and Israel's economic recovery. Pujol believes that Spanish-Israeli trade could be increased three or four-fold and speaks of developing "joint projects."

Speaking of the Catalan language, Pujol proudly refers to the fact that Nachmanides, who was born in Girona, in Catalonia, wrote his letters in Catalan rather than Spanish. The Catalan authorities are now busy restoring the Jewish quarters in various Catalan towns, including Girona. He says that these quarters attract far more American Jewish tourists than Israel.



Anwar Abdelrahman over his stove at the Jerusalem Hilton.

(P. Tikiner/Media)

Observing Ramadan over a kitchen stove

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter

All day long Anwar Abdelrahman works over a hot stove, creating elegant, mouthwatering dishes, but he doesn't taste any of them. It is Ramadan.

Abdelrahman, 37, has worked as a chef in the Jerusalem Hilton for 12 years. Seven years ago he began observing Ramadan, the Moslem holy month, during which the faithful refrain from eating, drinking, and smoking during daylight hours.

Moslems follow the lunar calendar, and Ramadan can fall any time of the year. Because of summer time the fast this year lasts from about 3:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m.

Abdelrahman is also in charge of preparing the evening meal for the 30 or so Moslems who work in the hotel. Obviously, it is not easy to fast and work around food all day; but the heat of the stoves brings on a tremendous thirst. Towards the end of the day, there are deep circles around the chef's eyes.

At home, in the village of Abu Ghosh, Abdelrahman's wife does the cooking. He would like to sleep on his day off, but it is forbidden to do so during the fast, he explains: One must experience hardship.

In Abu Ghosh, the family waits for the signal from the local mosque, or the radio, to begin eating.

Though he fasts during Ramadan, Anwar does not consider himself particularly religious. In the hotel, he says, most of the Moslems fast, but not all — just like there are Jews who don't observe Yom Kippur or Pessah.

He says he feels no anger at his coreligionists who do not fast. "It is between them and God. After all, this isn't Saudi Arabia."

To explain his degree of observance, he notes that he does not pray daily, except during Ramadan. The

BEACHES. — The Bat Yam municipality has opened six beaches to the general public until mid-October; a separate beach will be open to religious swimmers during July and August.

The changing of the guard

Post Defence Reporter

Aluf Ehud Barak, Aluf Amram Mitzna and Tat-Aluf Giora Rom yesterday assumed their new positions, completing the first round of appointments following Raf-Aluf Dan Shomron's selection as chief of general staff on April 19.

Barak, relinquishing the post of OC Central Command, took over as deputy CGS and head of the General Staff Branch.

Barak was born at Kibbutz Mishmar Hisharon in 1942. After joining the IDF in 1959, he served in a reconnaissance unit, becoming company commander and deputy battalion commander.

In one operation, he reportedly dressed up as a woman and reconnoitred a terrorist headquarters in Beirut.

Like Shomron, he transferred to the Armoured Corps, becoming the commander of a tank company and heading an armoured battalion in the 1973 war, before becoming a division commander.

In January 1982 he became head of the IDF Planning Branch and in April 1983 was appointed head of the Intelligence Branch. He is believed to have accepted the position reluctantly, as several of his predecessors left in disgrace. However, the army had to fill the slot quickly because the Kahan Commission of Inquiry into the Sabra and Shatila massacres called for the ouster of Aluf Yehoshua Saguy.

In January 1986 Barak was appointed OC Central Command. He was one of the four contenders for the post of CGS, but agreed to

remain in the army after Shomron was appointed.

Barak has won an exemplary conduct medal and several commendations for bravery. He has earned a B.Sc. in physics and mathematics from the Hebrew University and an M.A. from Stanford.

The bearded Mitzna was born in

Law and order

METSUDAT NFIR. — The new O/C Central Command, Aluf Amram Mitzna, yesterday said he planned to concentrate on restoring law, order and security in the West Bank.

Addressing officers at the ceremony in which he assumed command, Mitzna said that "developments will dictate my priorities."

One senior officer expressed concern over Gush Emunim's militancy as demonstrated in Kalkilya on Tuesday night when settlers broke through army roadblocks and burnt tires. "Now we have a problem with Jews, and that's much more serious," he said.

1945 at Kibbutz Dovrat and is now a member of Kibbutz Ein Gev.

He joined the army in 1963 and served mostly in the Armoured Corps. In the Six Day War he was a battalion operations officer, but assumed command in the middle of an attack when his commander was wounded. He was awarded an exemplary conduct medal. In the Yom Kippur War he commanded a tank battalion and won the CGS's com-

mandation of honour. Mitzna was wounded in both wars.

In the Lebanon war of 1982 he was deputy commander of a large formation that fought the Syrians; he incurred the wrath of then defence minister Ariel Sharon when he insisted that the minister resign.

When his lobbying failed, Mitzna asked to go on leave, but reportedly changed his mind when told by then chief of general staff Rafael Eitan that he should "get back to work — or resign." Mitzna was made assistant to the head of the General Staff Branch in January 1986. Sharon admitted that he tried to block this latest appointment but failed.

He is replaced by Tat-Aluf Giora Rom, the only Israeli pilot to have downed five enemy aircraft.

Rom was born in Haifa in 1945 and joined the army in 1962. He became a Mirage pilot and was credited with shooting down several enemy aircraft in the Six Day War.

His own plane was downed during the War of Attrition in 1969. He was seriously wounded and spent three months in Egyptian captivity.

In 1982 he was sent to head the Ramon air base and two years later was promoted to tat-aluf and sent to the larger Tel Nof air base.

Rom was succeeded by Aluf-Mishne Aviem Sella, but returned to Tel Nof for a brief stint when Sella quit because of his involvement in the Pollard affair.

Rom has a B.A. in political science and economics from Bar-Ilan and an M.A. in business administration from the University of California at Los Angeles.



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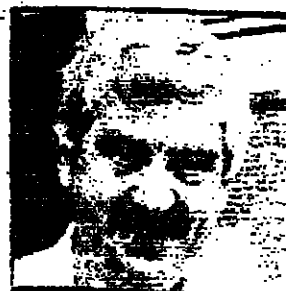
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Election talk has been growing with the divisions between Labour and the Likud over an international peace conference. The Post's MENACHEM SHALEV finds out what Labour is thinking from party chief Uzi Baram, left.

COUNTDOWN TO AN ELECTION?

THE CONSENSUS in Labour is that all Secretary-General Uzi Baram has to do to become director of the party's election campaign is to ask for it. He might do so as soon as the current political fog clears. But when that will be, Baram himself hesitates to forecast.

"If I had to bet, I would wager that elections will be held in 1987," he said in an interview this week, "but I am not quite sure, because there appears to be a certain fluidity in the Likud's position."

Over the past few months, Baram, a consummate political creature, has consistently preached caution and has tried to contain the gung-ho attitude of some of his colleagues for early elections. He says that he "still prefers that the Likud be a partner, at least in the first stages of an international conference."

Reminiscent of Lyndon Johnson's immortal adage on the advisability of former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover relieving himself from inside the tent outdoors — rather than in the opposite direction — Baram fears the "grave ramifications" of Likud attempts to subvert peace negotiations in which they are not taking part. If the Likud is in and part of the momentum, Baram says, "perhaps their positions will change."

Baram sees little chance for a crack in Likud unity on the international conference. He says that Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, who "broke ranks" on the Tabá and Lebanon issue, will be careful not to burn his fingers on this matter.

"The only possibility is that the Likud, as a whole and as a matter of

policy, will change its attitude en masse and put the matter of an international conference to a test." Such a move, Baram admits, will create a "temporarily difficult tactical situation" for Labour.

BARAM points to several "risks" in the party's current course. The first is that after Foreign Minister Shimon Peres's proposal for an international conference suffers its expected defeat in the cabinet, Labour won't be able to garner enough Knesset votes for early elections. He adds, however, that the Likud attempt to run a coalition government based on a 60-59 majority would be tantamount to "suicide."

An even worse scenario for Baram is Labour "getting trapped" in a transitional government, with no election date in sight. Peres will propose to Shamir that the two parties agree to a date for early elections. If the Likud agrees in principle but presses for a later date than what Labour would like, then Baram foresees agreement.

But he adds, "the Likud will do whatever it can to prevent the government from falling" and might not agree to a jointly proposed date for elections "because part of its tactics is to blame Labour for the downfall of the government."

Always pointing to the flip — or third or fourth — side of the coin, Baram mentions other considerations that might nudge the Likud toward agreement with Labour. He says that showing a willingness to compete in elections will "inspire confidence in the Likud rank-and-file."

Anyway, he adds, 1987 is just as good a year for elections as 1988 for Prime Minister Shamir and Minister without Portfolio Moshe Arens, Baram says. "After all," he adds, smiling, "they don't have a rabbit in the hat to pull out in 1988."

"The Likud would very much like us to agree to the active intervention of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council in the international conference and to PLO participation. Then they would have a clear plank to present to the public."

"Right now they are in a difficult position. If the conference is utopian, as they say, why not give it a try? It is hard for the Likud to explain why they are against a conference which is supported by the Americans, who, under the current administration, are sometimes more pro-Israeli than many Israelis."

HE HAS already coined the party's slogans for the upcoming election campaign and has singled out the voters on whom the party should focus. In addition to the cause of peace — which Baram feels works in Labour's favour — Baram says that the party will exploit the public's identification of the economic recovery with Labour policies. It should also emphasize the recently instilled "democratization" of internal party elections as symbolizing Labour's new openness to the public.

Labour's first priority is to consolidate its hold over its own supporters, and then aim to sway younger voters, especially from development towns and "neighbourhoods." Any mobility there from Likud to

Labour, says Baram, could "decide the elections."

Baram also promises not to concede anything to the parties left of Labour and pledges a "hard campaign" against any attempts they might make to attract Labour supporters.

The parties to the left of Labour are "not overjoyed" that the cause for the elections is the peace issue, Baram says. He predicts that some of them will campaign more vigorously against Labour than against the Likud. He also concedes that the findings on the Pollard affair might work in the leftists' favour. But, Baram warns, such a campaign might prove counter-productive, causing "floating voters" to drift from Labour to the Likud.

Baram says that "it is legitimate" for the leftists to attack the international conference on the grounds, for example, that it excludes the PLO, thus helping to secure what Baram terms the left's "natural votes." But if they claim that "they are the ones who will bring peace" — the public won't buy it, because "people know that the dividing barrier runs between Peres and Shamir, not between Labour and the left."

Baram dismisses leftist claims that a vote for them is not a wasted vote, since they will support Labour anyway. If the Citizens Rights Movement and Shinui's six Knesset seats had gone to Labour instead, he says, then he is quite certain that Labour's combined 50 seats would have sufficed to set up a Labour-led coalition government in 1984. He says that the

leftist parties' "unacceptable demands" on religious matters make a Labour-centred coalition with the religious parties nearly impossible. HOWEVER, Baram himself has spoken recently of the almost unbridgeable gap between Labour and the religious parties.

The National Religious Party, he says, is "moderate on matters of Orthodoxy and religious coercion but extremist on the nationalist issues." Baram sees little chance of the rejuvenation of the "historical alliance" between Labour and the NRP, even though party leader Ze'evulun Hammer has often told him that his assessment of the NRP is mistaken.

Baram does not rule out the possibility of an alliance with Shas, with whom Labour has some affinity on matters of state. "Their spiritual leaders regard efforts for peace as *pikuah nefesh*," he says.

"But it should always be kept in mind that the Likud is much more willing and able than we are to give the religious parties what they want," he notes, adding that a Labour-CRM-Shas coalition is difficult to contemplate.

In any case, the crucial element in determining the religious parties' affiliations, says Baram, is what he calls the "winning horse" theory. Everybody loves a winner and Baram believes that if the "kingmaker" status is wrested from the religious parties, they will be much more agreeable to the idea of an alliance with Labour.

Labour itself, says Baram, is united behind the leadership of Peres

and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He thus explains the total lack of dissent in the party over Peres's latest move. Baram also points to two underlying reasons for the seeming peace and tranquillity in the party. Baram says that in reaction to many years of strife, "there is an atmosphere now in the party that whoever creates a source of tension will pay dearly."

Also, Baram believes that the Lebanon War and the economic quagmire created by the Likud in general and to a lesser extent, in particular, have served to "bring down" criticism of Labour leadership.

Labour hawks have also gone along with Peres's policy, although Baram admits that there would be sharp internal differences if the debate focused on the final settlement with Jordan, rather than on getting talks started.

Baram states emphatically that "there is no comparison between Labour's hawks and those of the Likud." "Our hawks are rational," he says. "Go to (Knesset speaker) Shlomo Hillel, a hawk, and propose to him an acceptable security solution" for the territories "and his position will be exactly like mine." Likud hawkishness, says Baram, is emotional and led to a "blind" discussion.

"There is more animosity toward the Likud among Labour's hawks than among Labour doves," Baram says, dismissing Likud MK Menachem Begin's proposal last week that the hawks in Labour split and form a faction in the Likud.

BARAM WAS the instigator of the "democratic revolution" adopted by the Labour convention in April 1986. Under the new scheme, 46 of Labour's first 55 candidates for the Knesset will be chosen in secret democratic ballots by the party branches and its central committee. The other nine are earmarked for the party's office-holders — including two chosen by the party chairman — and three reserved for Ezer Weizman's Yehad Party.

"With all due modesty," Baram says, "these changes are monumental." Baram sees the reforms as effecting a fundamental change in the party's public image, long considered a bastion of back-room deals and appointments. Other Labour members say that Baram has launched an unguided missile and that the party might be in for some unpleasant surprises when the Labour Knesset list finally materializes.

Baram's prominence and influence in the party have rocketed since his election as secretary-general two and a half years ago. But many party members still remember his 1984 endorsement of Yitzhak Navon for the top party post, a move which created some distance between him and Peres and wider embarrassment in light of the education minister's subsequent disappointing political performance.

Baram, 50, a dove who has toned down his dovishness since assuming his current post, was subsequently excluded from the ranks of Labour participants in the national unity cabinet. He estimates, and most agree, that he has now overcome his "original sin."

"I want to be a minister," Baram says plainly, "and I am not one now because I was appointed. I believe that I have now reached a position where, if Labour establishes a government, I will indeed be a minister."

Baram built up his power base in the party during the 14 years in which he served as chairman of Labour's Jerusalem branch.

His other vision is sadder. For die-hard Jerusalem Hapoel fans, like Baram, last week's league championship by the city's Betar is hard to watch. Betar is a national political figure, and a Jerusalem "local patriot," Baram swallows hard and congratulates the first team ever from Jerusalem to capture the league title. Always the political animal, however, Baram consoles himself with the estimation that "the championship did not give the Likud any votes."

The Syrian shadow over King Hussein



President Assad, despite the weakening of his regime, remains adamant in his stance against peace talks, says Yosef Olmert, left. This puts Jordan in a tight spot. ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER reports.

KING Hussein's fear that he will not be able to achieve a dramatic "Sinai-style" Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank now constitutes the main stumbling block for Jordan in going to a peace conference alone — that is without Syria or the PLO — said Middle East expert Dr. Yosef Olmert.

Unlike two years ago, the Syrian threat of a "veto" over the peace process is a less significant factor in Jordan's moves, because of Syria's weakness both economically and militarily, explained Olmert of Tel Aviv University's Dayan Centre.

Still, given Hussein's apparent reservations about what he can obtain in peace talks, the prospects of his entering a conference without Syria seem dim, Olmert noted.

"My impression is that the road to a conference is still fraught with difficulties and, in my opinion, some of them are almost insurmountable," he said.

Despite some recent reports of a new Syrian willingness to join Jordan in the peace conference process, Olmert is sceptical about Syria's readiness to negotiate.

"Syria is not ready to sign anything that remotely resembles a peace treaty with Israel, that's the main point," said Olmert.

And without Syria, Jordan still

will have a hard time finding viable Palestinian partners for a peace conference — partners that Jordan is sorely lacking since its freeze in relations with the PLO.

The Soviet Union also would hesitate to go to a peace conference boycotted by its two major Middle East clients — namely Syria and the PLO. Thus Syria, despite its weakened status, retains a certain leverage with Moscow, the researcher said.

That leverage was again apparent following Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's recent visit to the Kremlin. In a joint communiqué, Soviet and Syrian leaders restated Syria's key demands for a conference — that the UN Security Council participate actively in negotiations, and that negotiations should lead to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, and the Palestinian "right of return."

Syria's objections to negotiations are not the expected ones, said Olmert. For instance, Assad "could go along" with acceptance of UN Security Council resolution 242 — and in the past has in fact given it qualified approval.

"What is insurmountable for the Syrians is direct talks with Israel, and any agreement on any front between Jordan and Israel which is not agreed

to by Syria and its Arab Allies." SYRIA's unwillingness to negotiate directly with Israel is in a sense ironic, Olmert pointed out. That's because negotiations over the return of the Golan Heights, however problematic, would be relatively straightforward compared to those involving the West Bank.

For one thing, Israel's dispute with Syria over the Golan does not directly involve the thorny issue of the Palestinian question and thus a "Palestinian veto" over a potential accord, said Olmert.

"The problem is the Syrians are not interested," he added. "King Hussein, on the other hand, is interested in peace with Israel... but he is very worried about his ability to achieve a Sinai-type withdrawal from the West Bank. He is concerned about the outcome of the talks. He is not going to get what the Egyptians got."

If Hussein truly were ready to negotiate without Syria, he would have a better opportunity today than ever before, said Olmert, explaining: "Two years ago, if you were Jordanian and said 'I can't move (into peace negotiations) because the Syrians are on my throat, that sounded much more convincing than it sounds today. Today, everyone realizes the Syrians are not as strong

as they were. They are in fact weaker."

Two years ago, when Syrian pressure effectively forced Israel out of Lebanon "it seemed like Syria was on top of the Middle Eastern world," said Olmert.

Today, the balloon has burst. "For the first time in years, Syria has started to reduce the size of its standing army owing to severe domestic economic problems. It has thus been unable to pursue its goal of achieving strategic parity with Israel."

Assad, at 57, faces growing internal political pressures. Olmert maintained he has never fully recuperated either politically or physically from a severe heart attack in 1983.

"I don't want to speculate about Assad's physical condition, but he is a sick person," Olmert noted. "The question of his succession is a very lively political one. His regime is less coherent than before Assad's heart attack in 1983."

IN LEBANON, meanwhile, Syria has failed to consolidate its gains from two years ago.

"The Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon ought to have been the beginning of a pax-Syria in Lebanon," said Olmert, adding "They failed miserably."

Assad's dispatch of thousands of Syrian troops to Beirut is an overt display of that failure — "all kinds of foreign armies have tried to digest Beirut. Somehow, Beirut has always digested its conquerors, Olmert explained.

The biggest problem for the Syrians in Beirut is the ongoing strife between Syria and Shi'ite fundamentalist factions like Hizbullah, he added. That's because the fundamentalists demand that Syria take an essentially pro-Iranian stance in the Gulf war and in Lebanon at a time when the Arab world is bidding Syria to repair its ties with Iraq and return to the Arab fold — in exchange for economic and political support.

"The moment of truth between the Shi'ite fundamentalists and Syria is near," said Olmert.

Syria has supported Iran in the Gulf war and terrorism abroad at the

price of isolation from her Arab brethren and from the West, particularly the United States and Great Britain.

"Mubarak, the traitor, was enthusiastically accepted at the recent Islamic conference in February in Kuwait while Assad received a so-so reception," Olmert recalled.

The combination of pressures means that Syria now is anxious to improve its ties with the Arab world — as evidenced in reports of recent Jordan-mediated meetings between Assad and his Iraqi counterpart, Saddam Hussein.

It even means that Syria would like to improve its image in the West.

BUT OLMERT doubts rapprochement on either of those fronts will propel Syria to change its policy significantly vis-a-vis Israel.

"It's true the Syrians and the Jordanians are in close touch. The Jordanians are trying to mediate

between Syria and Iraq."

Jordan and Syria also are "very coordinated" regarding their official positions on a peace conference, said Olmert, noting that Jordan's official, publicly-stated conditions for a peace conference are actually quite similar to Syria's.

Still, a Jordanian official said, "offering of Syria and Iraq to Iraq won't necessarily mean greater Syrian flexibility on the matter of an Arab-Israeli peace conference," said Olmert.

And that leaves Jordan back at square one — facing the choice of going it alone to a peace conference — or not going at all.

"If Jordan is so eager for a peace conference, they have a good chance now," said Olmert. "Syria today is not in a position like it was two years ago to undermine effectively political moves in the Middle East."

"But maybe the Jordanians are

not so eager to move along."

As Olmert sees it, there is an unprecedented situation today in which Israel is overtly pressuring the U.S. and certain Arab states to initiate a peace dialogue.

"In the past, there was always Arab pressure on Israel to get into a dialogue that would lead to territorial concessions. Here it is the Israeli government — or part of it — initiating."

"What do you expect King Hussein to do? Foreign Minister Shimon Peres is coming to him saying, 'I want to negotiate with you. It's your last chance. Time is against us.'"

"Hussein is under pressure from Peres — a peace conference is more Peres's priority at the moment than Hussein's. How can he refuse?"

"He's got to play the game to a certain extent because saying 'no' to Peres means giving up the West Bank."

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FOR WEEKS now the most guarded prisoner in France — and some say the world — has been preparing for his starring role in the court case already guaranteed to expose the nerve ends of French war-time memories — and perhaps send a collective shock wave through Whitehall and Washington.

Together with the old man in the dock will be the sacred reputation of the French Resistance and the ghosts of Winston Churchill, Adolf Hitler, Charles de Gaulle, Franklin Roosevelt, as well as the grisly memory of what Joseph Stalin ordered done in other parts of Europe while the old man was securing for himself a reputation of "the Butcher of Lyon."

In the indictment he is formally named as Klaus Barbie; his given rank is the last one he held: SS Obersturmfuehrer and commander of the Gestapo in Lyon.

To justify what Barbie did, the defence has promised to "plunder the reputations of the sacred cows of World War Two."

The defence intends not only to advance the classic justification that Barbie was acting under orders, which however harsh, were legally constituted, and that for him to refuse to obey them would have led to his own court-martial and death; it also intends to show that both the Allies and the revered French Resistance behaved no better than the Nazis.

The victims of World War Two will be as much on trial as the 73-year-old man in the dock. There has never been a court-room drama like it.

FOR BARBIE the beginning of the drama will start at precisely 6.30 a.m. on Monday, May 11.

At that moment, two blue-uniformed warders will pass through three sets of electrically-controlled doors and walk down a short, brightly lit corridor to the door of cell B-3 in Montluc Prison, a grim and massive edifice overlooking the banks of the River Saone in Lyon.

After one of the jailers opens the door, the two will enter the most comfortable cell in the prison, equipped with a TV and a video-recorder (on which Barbie has watched war movies.) Two of the cell walls are lined with shelves of books. They include accounts of the Nuremberg Trial — of which much will be heard after Barbie's defence opens — and books on French law. There are also some Gothic novels and, somewhat incongruously, Hans Kung's *On Being a Christian*.

On a table are the latest German newspapers, their contents a visible reminder that the gaunt-faced man with sunken eyes and unhealthy pallor was once so feared and reviled by those he sent to this very prison. At its entrance is a small stone plaque which announces that during the Occupation, 10,000 were imprisoned in Montluc — and 7,000 died.

Many, the prosecution will charge, did so on the orders of Barbie — going to their death after unspeakable torture.

What happened in Montluc, and elsewhere in war-time Lyon, has ensured that Barbie is remembered

as the most sadistic of all Gestapo officers in France.

Watched by the two warders, Barbie will first shave with an electric razor and then dress in the shabby Bolivian-tailored suit he lost four years ago when he first entered Montluc.

In February, 1983, knowing he was about to be deported from a Bolivia no longer able to resist world opinion, Barbie was tricked into taking a plane to a French dependency. From there he was flown to Lyon with a guard of the French secret service.

Since then he has been in cell B-3 — waiting for this coming Monday in May.

AS HE dresses for his trial, Barbie will know that he will spend some weeks at France's bar of justice — no doubt relishing the tactics of his lawyer, Maître Jaques Verges.

The defence intends to call "very prominent Frenchmen" whose names Verges is keeping secret until the last possible moment, to further heighten the tension.

But a clue to what lies ahead can be inferred in Verges's comment to me this week, delivered with relish.

"After my questions, those witnesses will leave the courtroom ruined and convicted as traitors in the eyes of France. I am doing this not because I am anti-French but because I am the Dr. Freud of French society. It is sick because it has suffered too many dramas. I am going to exorcise that sickness by the psycho-drama of the Barbie trial."

This is what makes the trial perhaps even more compelling than the Demjanjuk hearing in Jerusalem. There, while Israelis remain troubled over the validity of testimony 45 years old, in France the mood is one of mounting apprehension about what is going to be revealed in the Palais de Justice in Lyon.

AFTER BARBIE has dressed he will breakfast, as usual, under the watchful eye of the warders, on bran and warm milk, a soft-boiled egg, cheese and coffee.

His food, like his living conditions, is far superior to that of other prisoners — and way beyond the treatment given to his victims.

Barbie's kid-glove imprisonment has deeply angered old Resistance fighters. But President François Mitterrand insists that "France must not appear to be acting out of revenge."

He has personally authorized the proceedings to be televised so that the youth of France can witness the horror of the Nazi occupation.

AT 8.30 a.m. on the Monday his trial opens. Barbie, surrounded by a contingent of the Gendarmes Nationaux, with marksmen lining the route, will be driven in a bomb-proof van from Montluc Prison to the Assaize Court.

There, at one minute to nine, the court sergeant-at-arms will call to attention the ceremonial guard, each trooper wearing white gloves and carrying a rifle.

"Messieurs, la cour!"

The sergeant's words will mark

France on trial with Butcher of Lyon



Klaus Barbie may have been responsible for nearly 200,000 deaths in wartime France. On Monday he goes on trial in Lyon, the seat of his power as a commander of the Gestapo.

GORDON THOMAS reports

the entry of the judge — and a court of the Fifth Republic will be ready to hear the case of a man who terrorized a great French city during the nadir of the old republic.

SHARP AT nine o'clock Barbie will be put up in the dock and the clerk will formally identify him as "the prisoner, Klaus Barbie, a self-styled tradesman."

The irony of those words will not be lost on the rows of old men and women in the public gallery. For them Barbie was the epitome of ruthless killing. They have dreamed of this day when he would make his first public appearance among them accused of crimes against humanity.

Among those expected to be in court will be the Nazi-hunter, Simon Wiesenthal, a representative of the

Israeli embassy from Paris and observers from Britain, the United States and West Germany. The Russians have not yet indicated whether they wish to be officially present.

The Roman Catholic Church may also have a priest present. Originally, the Vicar-General in Lyon had agreed that a Jesuit could actually be a member of the defence team.

But then, on direct orders from the Vatican, the priest-lawyer resigned his brief. The Church, only too clearly recognizing the danger of being linked with the defence of someone like Barbie.

Nevertheless, the defence is planning to embarrass the Vatican over its war-time Nazi contacts. Maître Verges intends to probe Pope Pius XII's attitude to the Jews.

Barbie's alleged crimes against the Jews is, indeed, the nub of the prosecution case. Some of the testimony is likely to be as horrific as that already given at the Demjanjuk trial.

This, too, has caused unease among the staunchly Catholic population of Lyon. Many feel that the defence will resurrect the spectre that has been buried now for the past forty years: how much did the locals do to help their Jewish neighbours?

Maître Verges intends to show that in many cases the answer must be: very little. Precisely how he will exploit this line of defence is not yet clear. But he certainly intends to do more than just embarrass the burghers of Lyon. That feeling has added to the mounting tension.

WHILE THE state prosecutor, Procureur-General Pierre Truchet, begins to use up some of the eloquent phrases he has shaped and honed these past months to launch his case, many people in the court will be trying to guess when and how the defence will mount its first counter-blow.

Maître Verges, more than Barbie, will be the most compelling figure in court.

For over three years in his breathtakingly opulent chambers in Paris's raffish Montmartre quarters — Verges's place of work more resembles the salon of a wealthy aristocrat than a law office, with its Louis XV furniture and paintings that would not disgrace the Louvre — the attorney has prepared his defence traps.

He promises "a surprise a day" — just as many things about him are surprising.

Visibly wealthy, he conceded his closest friend is the bloodthirsty Cambodian leader, Pol Pot. Insisting that he abhors violence, Verges admits he enjoys visiting the terrorist camps of the Middle East, where he has many friends. Vehemently denying he has been funded by the Nazi exiles of Latin America, he confesses he has defended the Baader-Meinhof group and associates of Carlos, the most wanted terrorist in the world.

He is very much at home, both in a professional and social sense, with today's subversives — just as much as his client, Barbie, relished hunting yesterday's secret armies.

Yet, Verges's own war record is impeccable. Fleeting from occupied France in 1942 — the very year Barbie began his reign of terror — Verges joined de Gaulle's army in Britain, learning gunnery on Salisbury Plain. He later saw action in North Africa and Italy before helping to liberate Paris in 1944.

In the post-war years, he began to develop his dislike of the French Resistance. That feeling turned to hatred during the 1954-63 Algerian War when Verges supported the outlawed Algerian National Front, with its network of terrorist cells.

By then a lawyer with a thriving practice, he earned the enmity of conservative colleagues with his relentless defence of captured ANF men — and the awesome manner in which he demolished the reputation of their captors.

Then suddenly, in 1964, he literally disappeared overnight from France. Some say he went to Cambodia. Others that he was the supreme legal strategist of the PLO.

Maître Verges will not comment beyond a sardonic smile. But he clearly enjoys his notoriety. It may be one reason he has taken the Barbie case — though he insists he was attracted by appearing "for a classic under-dog."

HE HAS prepared his defence with his usual barrister's bombast, receiving journalists, hinting at how he intends to conduct the case:

"In France you can say that Joan of Arc was not a virgin. You can say that Napoleon was a wicked tyrant. But you cannot say a word, not a word, against the Resistance. If you do you will be condemned to Hell. But I intend to deliver a gale of words."

Again: "I intend to explore the whole issue of Jewish collaboration with the Nazis. To show that many Jews betrayed their co-religionists to save their own skins."

Or: "The Holocaust is a convenient smoke-screen for the undisputed fact that some Jews participated in the deportation of other Jews to save their own skins. Very human, and we should not be surprised. But in London, recently when it was planned to stage a play to show that (*Perdition* by Jim Allen at the Royal Court Theatre), the Zionist lobby stopped it. They will not stop me."

Statements like those, to many observers, appear to be calculated not only to inflame passions — but also to create panic in the complex legal procedure system.

THE FRAMEWORK of the French judicial system is partly based on the rights of the *partie civile* allowing barristers to appear for interested third parties. This enables, in effect, private prosecutions to be brought in conjunction with the main state case.

Consequently, Barbie is facing scores of privately brought accusations of members of the Resistance, relatives of Jews and Jewish organizations.

Maître Verges is delighted to have so many lawyers opposing him.

"There will be perhaps fifty of them along with the state prosecutor. In all there will be 150 different cases running at the same time against my client. I love it. Look at it this way. There is bound to be a conflict of interests in that number of cases. One lawyer will be after one thing; another, after another, I will drive an 'autobus' between them. Many 'autobuses.' It is perfect for my defence tactic."

Nevertheless, such confidence may well be tested to the limit when Verges has to defend what happened on April 6, 1944, in the small village of Lzieu, north-east of Lyon.

That morning Barbie led his men, acting on a tip-off, into the village — and found 44 Jewish children and 7 adults hiding. All of them, apart

from one adult, were sent to the gas chambers.

There are two other crucial incidents in the state case (in all the indictment runs to four pages).

In February 1943 Barbie swooped down on 86 Jews in a Lyon church where they had assembled for a crossing into Switzerland. All died in the gas chambers. In August, 1944, with the American army in sight of Lyon, Barbie carried out "a cleaning-up" in Montluc prison. Several hundred Jews and Resistance men were sent north to the death camps of the doomed Third Reich.

Then, as the first U.S. infantry entered the city, Barbie drove back to the Fatherland where he was personally commended by Himmler.

In his three years in Lyon he may have been responsible for close to 20,000 deaths.

MAÎTRE VERGES — in what he strongly denies is purely a spoiling operation — intends to concentrate upon showing that the case is rooted in bad law.

The French penal code does not allow for crimes to be tried if they have been committed over 20 years previously.

Barbie is charged under a formula introduced by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal — when defendants were charged with crimes against humanity.

Verges is not alone among French lawyers who say that in accepting this formula in 1964, France acquired a blatantly retrospective piece of legislation.

However, Verges concedes these are esoteric considerations — no more than a side-bar to what will happen in court throughout this summer.

No doubt many people in Lyon have mixed feelings nowadays about seeing images of the Occupation flickering before them: Barbie in his Gestapo peaked cap, strutting from his headquarters; Barbie with his beautiful SS girl secretary on his knees as he griled his suspects; Barbie careening drunkenly through the streets at night to keep mysterious meetings.

It is such meetings that many people do not wish to see brought to light. They suspect that that was when deals were struck and bargains made with French people now revered as heroes.

In many ways the tension of the trial will be less of a strain for Barbie than for those who survived his brutality.

He cannot be executed; the guillotine has long gone. For a man of 73, a life sentence will not be a hardship — given he will lose none of his cell amenities.

Those most likely to suffer are the witnesses facing the undisputed forensic skills of Maître Verges.

"I will shred them. Fact by fact. Lie by lie. Secret by secret," the defence lawyer proclaims.

No one in Lyon today doubts he means it. In many ways he is as hated as his clients.

The writer is a novelist and social historian

The making of a Gestapo boss

Michel Zlotowski/Paris

ON THE night of February 5, 1983, the tension was high in the city of Lyon, 400 kilometres southeast of Paris. The former capital of the Resistance seemed to fear a resurgence of the dreadful memories of World War II.

The time was 10 p.m. A crowd had gathered in front of the Fort Montluc jail where a special cell had been prepared for a very special prisoner: Klaus Barbie.

The Gestapo's chief operator in Lyon, Obersturmfuehrer SS Barbie, who inside those walls had tortured and killed Resistance because of what they had done and Jews because they were Jews, was on that night of February 1983 being brought back to Fort Montluc, handcuffed and under heavy guard.

The French authorities did not really think that Barbie would try to escape. Their only fear was that someone would approach the "Butcher of Lyon" and kill him on the spot.

Nervous policemen posted at the gates of the fortress tried to keep equally nervous reporters at bay. Suddenly, a caravan of blue gendarmes vans with screaming sirens cut through the crowd and drove into Fort Montluc. Klaus Barbie was now facing his bloody past.

BORN ON October 25, 1913 in Bad

Godesberg, near Bonn, to a Roman Catholic family, Nikolaus "Klaus" Barbie started to walk at age one and talked at eighteen months, according to his "racial purity" report signed by an SS doctor in 1939. His father, Nikolaus Barbie, had been a schoolteacher.

Three months after Hitler became Chancellor of the German Reich in January 1933, the 20-year-old Barbie joined the Hitler Jugend. "As a patrol leader, I had responsibility of over 120 children aged between 10 and 14," he said later. "Like all other good Germans, I am attracted by the power of the national movement, always at its side, in the service of the Fuehrer," he had written in a high-school paper.

That same year, his 18-year-old brother Kurt died of heart failure and his father, of complications from a wound he had received during WWI.

Barbie finished high school in Treier in 1934, matriculating in Greek and Latin. But his relatives could not afford to send him to college. He volunteered for work in Schleswig-Holstein, within the framework of the labour service (*Arbeitsdienst*) initiated by the

Nazis. Returning to Treier, he offered his talents to the local section of the NSDAP (the National-Socialist Democratic Workers' Party, the Nazi Party).

Klaus Barbie was searching. He considered joining a church seminary and becoming a monk, or perhaps a seaman.

IN 1935, Barbie met a policeman from Berlin, called Jacobs, who convinced him to join the *Sicherheitsdienst*, the government security service. The active section of the security was the *Geheimstaatspolizei*, or Gestapo. On September 26, 1935, Barbie became a registered member of the SS, number 272 284. He was 22 years old.

His first assignments led him through the counter-espionage service and the criminal police. At the end of 1936, he landed a job in Duesseldorf, where he was assigned to fight the "inside enemy."

On May Day 1937, Barbie received his membership card in the Nazi Party (number 4583085). He was sent to the security training school in Bernau, then to the Charlottenburg executive seminar.

As a member of the regime's security, his time in the regular army was shortened to three months. In December 1938, he finished the training and returned to Charlottenburg to take his exams.

April 9, 1939. Klaus Barbie and his girlfriend Regina Wilms, whom he had met in high school in Treier, became engaged. Wilms had joined the Nazi Party in 1937 and she and Barbie started living together. In April 1940, Barbie became Untersturmfuehrer SS (second lieutenant) and five days later, he married Regina Wilms. In May, Klaus Barbie left for the Netherlands, Belgium and France.

A report from his superiors in Amsterdam described him as "full of energy and enthusiasm for his work." "[Barbie was] a disciplined officer, full of zeal, honesty and the spirit of comradeship, efficient and a boon to the SS." In November 1940, Barbie became Obersturmfuehrer (lieutenant).

In 1941, Barbie took part in the suppression of the uprising in the Amsterdam Ghetto. On March 3, he commanded the firing squad that shot one of the leaders of the uprising. In June, he organized the deportation of 300 young Jews from the Netherlands to the Mauthausen concentration camp, where they were exterminated.



After a short training period in spying techniques in Koeln, Barbie was assigned to fight the powerful communist intelligence network set up by Leopold Trepper, the "Red Orchestra." (Trepper survived the war, lived in Poland and after a world-wide public opinion campaign in his favour, was finally allowed to emigrate to Israel where he died a few years ago.)

WHEN THE German Army completed its occupation of France in November 1942, Barbie was already "at work" in Lyon. He was assigned to head the 4th and 6th sections of

the SS security, specializing in the battle against Communists, Resistance and Jews.

Although not officially in charge of the Gestapo in Lyon, Klaus Barbie was the strong man of the Nazi terror machine. Under him were both Germans and over 200 Frenchmen from all classes of the population, including members of the "upper crust."

Barbie established an intelligence network partly managed by his mistress, Antoinette Murot (nicknamed Mimiche), a tall bosomy blonde he had met in a bar in Villeurbanne, a suburb of Lyon, and two of her

"assistants," Huguette Ferie and Armande Theron. Mimiche escaped unharmed after the war, and was seen for the last time in 1950 in a hairdresser's parlour in Geneva. The other two women were shot by the communist partisans in 1944.

His "action commando" of 80 Frenchmen was led by an ex-convict from Marseille, Francis Andre, nicknamed "Twisted face," a brute who loved to torture and kill.

Until the liberation of Lyon in 1944, Barbie and his men managed to arrest 14,311 persons, deport 7,000, and kill 4,342. When it became impossible to deport prisoners from Lyon, Barbie had them killed.

Barbie's headquarters were located in the Military Medical School on the Boulevard Berthelot. There, he personally tortured Jews and Resistance.

One of his few victims who survived, Maurice Boudet, recounted: "He was a monster. He always had a truncheon in his hand and he hit (with it) endlessly. He inflicted the bathtub torture on me (the victim had his head plunged under ice water till suffocation), and he had acid injected in my bladder. He really enjoyed the suffering of his victims, and he even had people hanged against a background of music." Barbie was especially fond of Beethoven and Chopin.

On February 9, 1943, the Gestapo raided the Lyon headquarters of the UJif, the General Association of French Israelites. Eighty-four per-

(Continued on page 8)

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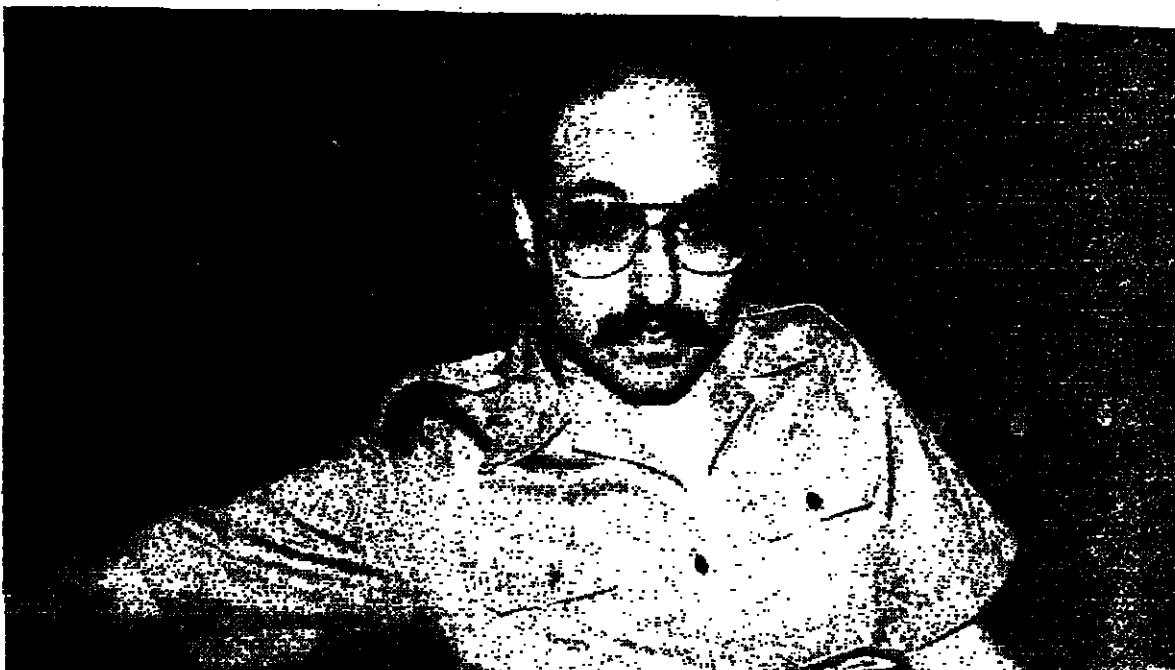
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سكزا ونا الام

Tom Tugend
Los Angeles

An official of the Israeli Interior Ministry took one look at her conversion certificate signed by a Reform rabbi and told her that "it wasn't worth the paper it was written on." Miller recounted The then interior minister Rabbi Yitzhak Peletz of the ultra-Orthodox Shas party, finally agreed to register her if the word "convert" was appended to "Jewish." Miller refused, and at the

Of course, it wasn't simply the Justice Department that had a blood lust that day. Shortly before the session commenced, a special courier arrived carrying a personal



Jonathan Pollard writes from prison

What I truly believe

East and weakened America's

pr

P.S. I think you should know that as far as the mercenary angle is concerned I've passed all the polygraph questions on this issue without fail and the *only* person who propagated this lie, Rafi Eitan, perjured himself on virtually every question put to him by the U.S. Attorney in December, 1985. I have been very careful to maintain my credibility throughout this affair as best I can for obvious reasons.

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Ya'akov Morris, a veteran of Israel's diplomatic service, argues that the Foreign Ministry staff is more vulnerable to injustice and exploitation than any other branch of the country's Civil Service

What price diplomats?

THERE WAS a time when Israeli diplomats abroad used to be proud of the fact that they were the only 100 per cent unionized group in their international profession. Pride in this "achievement," however, has become somewhat muted over the years. Their membership as a distinct branch in the Histadrut Civil Service Union has done little to aid them to achieve better labour conditions at home. To people outside the profession, the very term "labour" in relation to diplomats more often than not evokes a wry or cynical smile. The diplomat is highly stereotyped in the public eye: a species that lives off the fat of the land, in a rarified world of cocktail parties and dinners attended by the great and glamorous. That such people face a struggle for better wages, conditions and rights appears to be phantasmagoric.

For a brief initial period the founders and highest ranked officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs were inherited from the leadership of local and world Zionist parties; it has since been the scene of fierce controversy over the induction and promotion of staff. Its unique character as a source of exotic and "fitted" appointments abroad has always attracted many more applicants for admission than it needed and, in consequence, has engendered greater competition for entry than any other government ministry. Furthermore, within the ministry, the constant striving to reach the apex of the pyramid — the ambassadors, ministers and consuls-general — has been responsible for more impatience and excessive ambition than in any other sector of the civil service.

Against such a background it is surprising that such a degree of unionization ever took place and that a staff committee, elected each year by all the ministry's employees, could function on their behalf. Its existence from the earliest days of the ministry can be attributed to the long period of Labour Party government and the fact that its portfolio always went to one of the party leaders.

Moreover, the only organized party branch among the staff was that of Labour, and, as a bloc, it dominated all staff committee elections.

In theory, other political parties could have established branches among the staff and nominated

candidates; or, given a sufficient number of qualifying signatures, independents could also have competed. However, as is customary on the Israeli political scene, with its coalition governments, the ministries are divided between them, and their staffs tend to reflect the politics of the ministers in charge. Hence, until the advent of a government coalition not dominated by Labour, and a foreign minister not of that party, both the executive and staff committee of the Foreign Ministry were of the same party. This produced ambivalent labour relations between them.

WHAT THEN happened to Israel's earliest aspirations to establish an "objective" and "non-political" civil service? In its first flush of idealism limited attempts were made to achieve such a goal as far as the middle and lower staff echelons were concerned. In those halcyon days job vacancies were even advertised, and examinations to choose applicants were held under the auspices of the Civil Service Commission.

In fact, I must have been one of the last people of my generation to have entered the Foreign Ministry under this prescribed procedure. Already, "objectivity" was cynically being defined as follows: "If two candidates emerge successfully with an equal number of points, the party man will get the appointment; if the party man has a much lower number the non-party man will get it. If he is from another party, he will not have been invited to sit for the examination." Fortunately, in 1955, I was still a non-party man (although my background had been Hashomer Hatzair), which "proved" the "objectivity" of my appointment.

The coalition government hierarchy, however, did not have things all its own way, even though at the highest levels the party ministers were able to introduce their own men into their ministries. The Civil Service Union, in response to pressure from the staff committees, took up the struggle for more objective procedures in appointments, and for greater safeguards to protect those already employed from being displaced or from the installation of newcomers above them, thus blocking their road to promotion. As a result of this protracted struggle, an agreement, known as the *Taksheer*,

was drawn up between the Civil Service Commission and the Civil Service Union. It required that before a ministry sought candidates for its vacancies outside the Civil Service, it was obliged to seek them first within its own staff; and that outside candidates for postings be invited by public tender to participate in a Civil Service examination.

The Foreign Ministry, however, chose to ignore this agreement on the grounds that it was different from all other ministries; that the nature of its tasks and therefore the means of choosing its employees or promoting them had to be singular and unique. Even conceding the logic of this argument, more than one alternative was open to the ministry whereby, in conformity with the principles of the *Taksheer*, special standards and requirements could have been set for its examination and selection of outside candidates, as well as a special interview system to ensure suitable personality requirements.

The ministry's management, however, at that time under the direction of Golda Meir as minister, and of Ya'akov Nitzan as her assistant director-general responsible for personnel, preferred their own system of political and personal *protekzia* for the induction and promotion of staff.

The ministry's executive and its appointments committee, they claimed, had exclusive rights, and they rejected any "interference" on the part of the staff committee. It was at that stage that I was elected, in the early 1960s, to chairmanship of the ministry's staff committee. As a result there began a fierce struggle between executive and committee, and, in fact, between two institutions of the same Labour Party within the ministry.

THE FIRST sharp clash occurred over the appointment of a first secretary to our embassy in Mexico.

By this time the staff committee had already made it clear that the *Taksheer* was the basis of its position. An announcement was posted by the executive on the notice-board inviting members of the staff to apply for the vacancy.

This was only a "cover-up," however, as staff committee "intelligence" had learned that an agreement had already been signed with an outsider to fill the job and only awaited "security clearance" for ratification. The enraged staff committee threatened the first strike of diplomats in Israel's history and delivered an ultimatum with a set deadline. A quarter of an hour before it expired, the executive surrendered. The posting was filled by the transfer of one of our diplomats abroad to Mexico City.

The struggle between executive and staff committee spilled over into the Labour Party, the Civil Service Union and the press. Although the committee won a number of "battles," it could not win the "war." The Labour Party hierarchies of the Histadrut, its own Jerusalem branch and the Jerusalem section of the Civil Service Union, manifested more solidarity with the Labour Party executive of the Foreign Ministry than with its staff committee. Asher Yadin, then the Civil Service Union boss in Tel Aviv, unsuccessfully attempted to persuade the committee to abandon its struggle.

Reuven Barkat, then secretary-general of the Labour Party, explained that although our struggle was both correct and just, he could not support us because of "the balance of forces within the Labour Party." By this he meant that he could not embarrass the "Old Guard" at a time it had to contend with opposition forces within the party. Golda Meir, the minister, was one of the prominent members of the "Old Guard." A representative of the Jerusalem central branch of the party put it to me even more

crudely: "When it comes to elections, Golda Meir will bring in more votes than your staff committee."

Nevertheless, despite the attitude of party officialdom, which ranged from "understanding" to outright hostility — and even on one occasion attempted to induce my committee by "concessions" to get rid of its chairman — Foreign Ministry employees stuck to their guns. When the Foreign Ministry Labour Party branch leadership, in obvious collusion with the ministry's executive, nominated "safe" candidates for its list in the following election year, they were countered by an independent list that included party members. This was the first time such a "revolt" had occurred — years before the advent of Rafi — and the independent list I headed won decisively.

The ministry executive now realized that concessions had to be made. It undertook to observe the *Taksheer* and agreed that if and when exceptional appointments had to be made, this would be in consultation with the staff committee. However, this did not apply to ambassadors who were proposed by the executive's appointments committee but were subject to cabinet approval. The exceptions represented two categories: individuals from outside the ministry who would be sought by public tender, employed only by contract during the posting and not be automatically inducted into the permanent staff afterwards. Such exceptions would occur only if the ministry failed to find suitable candidates from within for the given postings.

The second exception referred to political appointments. These, the staff committee conceded, could not be entirely avoided, owing to the nature of Israel's political structure and its form of government. But to protect the professionalism and morale of its ministry, the staff committee demanded that such political appointments be held to a minimum. Agreement was subsequently reached that that minimum should not exceed 15 out of a total of some 400 abroad. The present staff committee is attempting to reduce this number even further.

THIS agreement was reached in the mid-1960s, and a struggle around its implementation continued over the next decade. It grew even more complicated when the Likud, for the

first time, became the dominant government coalition partner and appointed its own foreign minister. Meanwhile, however, the Foreign Ministry embarked on a new and far-reaching method of staff induction, which ultimately will not only ensure the evolution of a foreign service whose diplomats will both be fairly and objectively engaged, but also be characterized by the requisite high standards essential to represent Israel.

This system of cadets (*mit-machim*) is based upon the employment after examination of university graduates whose academic backgrounds have been outstanding in such fields as the Middle East, political science, international relations, economics, international law, etc. The annual intake of such cadets is at the bottom of the ministry's diplomatic ladder, but after two years they will obtain their first postings abroad. Over the years the result will be a highly qualified service right up through the ranks. Each year, out of 800 candidates, 24 are selected by examination for cadetship.

A struggle still continues for the choice appointments, particularly between the professionals who have invested years of experience in their upward climb and the political appointees from without. A present example of this is the controversy over the appointment of an ambassador to Washington. Following "Irangate" and the Pollard affair, it seems obvious that a professional should be appointed whose experience and skills would be essential in undoing some of the damage and improving relations. To date, however, such highly qualified professionals from within the ministry have been passed over and, instead, proposals made by the minister and prime minister have been of an outside political nature. Apart from the question of aptitude, each such outsider choice does incalculable harm to the morale of the ministry's professional staff.

Although the Washington posting has been highly publicized, it is but one of many examples of the problem of professional versus political appointments. This problem is, of course, not unique to Israel. The U.S. foreign service, for example, appoints a percentage of its ambassadors from among persons who have been generous in their financial support of the ruling party. In Israel, not financial contributions but re-

wards for political services, and even personal *protekzia*, are the considerations. Israel, moreover, not only appoints unprofessional ambassadors from its parties, but also consuls-general, consuls, and even information personnel.

Nor is resentment among the ministry's staff or declining morale, the only consequence of outside political appointments, not a few of which have been clearly mistaken. Sufficient examples exist of diplomatic inexperience and incapability. This is particularly true since the Likud became a governmental factor. More recently, after the ministry's takeover by its present minister, the situation has been further exacerbated.

The appointment of two directors-general from without, above the highly qualified professional staff, is being sharply criticized as a source of confusion, as undermining and dividing authority, and as a slap in the face to the ministry's seasoned and more competent executives.

THE MOOD in the ministry has also been embittered by the long and unsuccessful struggle over wages and conditions of work at home. Job for job, diplomats earn less than their equivalents in the Ministry of Defence and, on reaching mandatory retirement age, their pensions are smaller.

In essence, the Foreign Ministry staff is more vulnerable to injustice and exploitation than any other branch of the Civil Service. While others whose essential services to the public are obvious and directly important, and therefore strike action on their part can be an effective instrument of struggle, such is not the case with the employees of the Foreign Ministry. The public is neither aware of their problems nor does it care. A resort to strike action would either be ignored or be a source of cynical amusement among a public to whom the diplomatic service represents a source of high living and enrichment. Little do they know how hard its personnel work abroad and how great is their struggle to fulfill their responsibilities with budgets and allowances which only too often leave them out of pocket. Yet even this "great wealth" is counted against them when they return home and are expected to function with less than a living wage.

The making of a Gestapo boss

sons (including the father of Robert Badinter who served as French Justice Minister from 1981 to 1986) were arrested and deported to Auschwitz. None survived.

On April 6, 1944 at 9 a.m., two Gestapo trucks and two cars stopped in the village of Izieu, about 75 kilometres east of Lyon. Men in uniforms and others wearing long black, leather coats surrounded a clandestine Jewish children's home and arrested its occupants: 7 adults and 44 children. The youngest was 4 years old. All were deported. None of the children came back. Only one adult survived: Laja Feldblum, who

made aliya in 1946. In August 1944, as the German lines inside France were beginning to be disrupted by the Allies, Barbie succeeded in his last "coup": he deported 600 people by train to Auschwitz.

After having massacred Resistance in the Jura mountains and in the suburbs of Lyon, Barbie finally fled the city in September 1944.

THE "BUTCHER of Lyon" was

also the protagonist of one of the most mysterious episodes of the Resistance: the arrest and death of General de Gaulle's envoy to Occupied France, Jean Moulin.

In June 1943, de Gaulle sent Moulin to unify the different streams of the Resistance under one leader. Head of the National Council of the Resistance, Moulin organized a meeting in Lyon. But Barbie was informed and arrested all the participants of the secret meeting. Barbie

personally interrogated and tortured Moulin, who died in a train taking him to Germany. No one, except Barbie, knows today who really tipped off the Gestapo about the meeting.

Thanks to the American connections he developed after the war, Barbie never had to worry about facing a court for his crimes. While hiding in Bavaria in 1947, he met with Kurt Merk, a former member of the *Abwehr*, the Intelligence arm of the German army. The two men knew each other from earlier days in Dijon, France.

Merk was already an informant of the U.S. Counter-Intelligence Corps. On his recommendation, Barbie was recruited into the CIC. According to documents released in 1983 by an official of the U.S. Justice Department, Allan Ryan, Barbie's task was to recruit and organize sub-agents to penetrate French Intelligence networks which the CIC suspected of having been infiltrated by the communists. In return, Barbie was protected from arrest by the French.

But the French, over the years, became aware that Barbie was in the U.S. zone of Germany. One of the participants in the ill-fated meeting with Jean Moulin was being tried in France for treason, and the French wanted Barbie, too. The CIC deliberately concealed all information on Barbie's whereabouts from both the French and the U.S. civil authorities.

In 1950, worried about possible political backlash, the CIC looked into safe ways of divesting itself of Barbie without losing the confidence of other former Nazis in its service.

The solution was the "Rat Line": an underground railroad that ran from Austria to Italy where it was helped by Father Krivoslav Dragovic, a Croatian seminary from Rome. Dragovic knew how to get passports from the International Red Cross and visas for various Latin American countries.

The Ryan report asserted that "the CIC may have been involved in — at least it contemplated the possibility of — assisting Dragovic with the escape of Croatian war criminals."

In a 1948 memo by a CIC officer, Paul Lyon wrote: "Through the Vatican connection of Father Dragovic... a tentative agreement was reached to assist in (the Rat Line's) operation. (CIC agents) were to assist persons of interest to Father Dragovic to leave Germany, and in return, Father Dragovic will assist these agents in obtaining the necessary visas to Argentina... for persons of interest to the Command" (i.e. the U.S. military occupation authority in Germany).

On March 11, 1951, escorted by two CIC agents, Barbie, his wife and two children reached Genoa, Italy, where Dragovic took them over, providing them with travel permits from the International Red Cross and Bolivian immigrant visas. On March 23, the Barbies, now the Altman's, left the Old Continent.

They landed in Buenos Aires in mid-April. They remained there for eight days before setting off by train for Bolivia.

Barbie was tried in absentia by French military courts, in 1952 and 1954, and each time sentenced to death.

According to a secret memo of the French Military Intelligence in 1963, Klaus "Altman" Barbie, who obtained Bolivian citizenship in 1957, was in touch with the CIA and the West German Secret Service, the BND.

Between 1966 and 1971 Barbie played an important role behind the scenes in Bolivian politics. With money he squeezed out of the shipping company he set up with public funds (in a country without a port), he established an influential network of high-ranking army officers, which did much to help General Ugo Banzer, who seized power in 1971.

But in 1972 Barbie's luck began to turn. The French Nazi hunter, Serge Klarsfeld, identified Altman as the "Butcher of Lyon." For 11 years, the Klarsfelds fought relentlessly to have Barbie deported to France. At one point, Serge Klarsfeld even considered kidnapping Barbie and flying him to France through Chile. The death of Chilean President Salvador Allende, who had agreed to help, foiled the crazy project.

It was a bitter blow for Barbie when Herman Siles Zuazo, who was friendly to the French Socialists, came to power in Bolivia. He had Barbie arrested in October 1982 for having failed to pay a \$10,000 fine imposed in 1974. Two months later Barbie's wife Regina died.

Money was raised by Barbie's friends to pay the fine, and he was released from jail, but immediately expelled from Bolivia for having acquired Bolivian citizenship under a false identity. Siles Zuazo sent Barbie to the French South American territory of Guyane, from where he was brought to France, 39 years after his crimes.

Because of the time lapse, Barbie cannot be tried for all his crimes. The case against him is made up of five counts.

□ The raid on Ugi's headquarters in Lyon, and the deportation of the persons arrested;

□ The raid on the children's home in Izieu and the deportation of the youngsters;

□ The August 1944 deportation of 600 people, of whom at least 106 were formally identified as having died;

□ The assassination of a Jewish Resistance fighter, Marcel Gompel, arrested in January 1944. The Court of Accusation of Paris ruled that Gompel was persecuted for religious or racial motives, rather than for his membership in the Resistance;

□ The deportation of Resistance fighter Louise Lesevre, arrested and tortured by Barbie in March 1944; Condemned to death and deported in May 1944, she came back alive, but her husband and son died in concentration camps. The Paris Court of Accusation ruled that those two murders and the deportation were part of "systematic persecutions" in the name of a country practising a policy of ideological hegemony and thus constituted crimes against humanity as defined in 1945 by the Nuremberg International Military Court.

In the plane taking him to Guyane, a TV crew interviewed Barbie: "Is there anything you regret?" asked a reporter. "Yes," answered Barbie, "my only regret is that we lost the war."

"Klaus Barbie has no internal conflicts nor guilt feelings," stated the report of the two psychiatrists who saw him in his Lyon jail.

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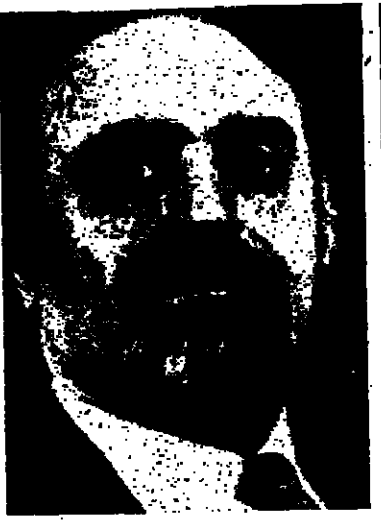
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The question of how much the president knew, and when he knew it is a key issue in the latest U.S. hearings on the Iran-contragate affair.



Second, left, accuses Iranian intermediary Ghorbanifar, right, of being a liar.



(APR. Teuter)

Reagan's credibility takes a battering

THE FIRST days of the long-awaited Congressional hearings on the Iran-contragate affair suggest that President Ronald Reagan may be in deeper trouble than previously thought.

Israel is also likely to emerge from the hearings with its own image further tarnished, largely because of mounting evidence that Israeli officials were not always truthful in their public denials that they played a role in supporting the Contra rebels in Nicaragua.

Israel's involvement in the purely Iranian initiative, uncovered during testimony this week under oath by former U.S. Air Force Major-General Richard Secord, is not expected to overly hurt Israel, although it will not help either. This is because Israel's role, while clearly very active, was actually sought and later promoted by the Reagan administration.

But the already-shaky credibility of Israeli leaders, especially Vice Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, has been further undermined by the latest Contra-related revelations. It was earlier strained by the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal. For most of the time that both those affairs were taking place, Peres was prime minister.

Secord, a highly-decorated Vietnam War fighter pilot and former high-ranking Pentagon official who played a very important role in the private arming of the Contras as well as in the transfer of weapons to Iran, suggested that Israel's intelligence on what was going on in Iran was spotty at best and occasionally way off target.

He was even more outspoken in castigating the U.S. intelligence community. "We had absolutely no idea what was happening there," he said. The upshot of Secord's point was that the U.S. turned to Israel for advice about Iran. The U.S. and Israel, he said, were "joint-venture partners."

Secord insisted that the shadowy Iranian intermediary, Manucher Ghorbanifar, was a liar who consistently made promises which he could not deliver. Yet Israel continued to place a great deal of faith in the Iranian arms dealer and repeatedly encouraged the U.S. to pursue the initiative even when it was failing.

SECORD SAID he was personally "distrusted" by the deterioration of what was supposed to be a major strategic opening toward Iran into arms for hostages negotiations. At every stage of the initiative, he said, the administration was preoccupied by the fate of the hostages - an obsession that undermined the entire plan.

According to Secord, all Israeli operatives involved in the initiative defended Ghorbanifar's credentials and the need for the U.S. to show "good faith" by making weapons available to Iran. This included arms dealers Al Schwimmer and Ya'acov

Wolf Blitzer
Washington

Nimrodi; former Foreign Ministry director-general David Kimche; and, during the second phase of the operation, the counter-terrorism adviser to the prime minister, Amir Nir.

Schwimmer and Nimrodi, like Ghorbanifar, have been depicted as largely interested in personally making money from the arms sales. Kimche was seen as a serious professional but still unrealistic about the chances of achieving a genuine breakthrough with the Iranians.

Nir, a former military affairs correspondent for Israel Television who replaced the other three Israelis as the chief liaison to North in January 1986, was apparently too inexperienced and thus unqualified for the extremely sensitive intelligence operation.

Thus, by early 1986, the Americans were totally disgusted by Ghorbanifar and decided to open a second channel to the Iranians which would deliberately bypass him and Israel. Yet fearing that Ghorbanifar might reveal the entire operation if he discovered that he was being bypassed, the U.S. allowed Ghorbanifar to play a minor role and to continue to make some modest profits in various arms transactions.

During the many hours of nationally-televised hearings, Secord offered a fascinating behind-the-scenes picture of covert operations, involving disguises, code names, clandestine taping of conversations, unsavoury ransom payments designed to win the freedom of American hostages in Lebanon, high intrigue, and, ultimately, abandonment and betrayal.

He was especially bitter when describing the reactions of Reagan, Attorney-General Edwin Meese and other administration officials when they sought to distance themselves from the operation after it was exposed. Former National Security Adviser John Poindexter and his deputy, Lt.-Col. Oliver North, should not have been forced to resign because, according to Secord, they did nothing illegal or immoral. Indeed, he insisted, they and other officials involved in the venture were acting under the president's own authority. Reagan again denied this charge this week.

Secord, who insisted that neither he nor his Iranian-born partner, Albert Hakim, profited from their involvement in the Iran-Contra affair, insisted that he was motivated strictly by patriotism and his desire to help the president succeed in bolstering both the Contras and U.S. influence in Iran.

AND IN the process, Secord has come forward with his version of what the president knew and when he knew it. It is not something the White House wanted to hear.

While conceding that he never personally spoke to the president and thus had no first-hand knowledge, he was constantly assured by Poindexter, North, former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, the late Central Intelligence Agency director William Casey and others involved in the covert operation that Reagan was fully aware and deeply appreciative of everything they were doing.

In the coming weeks, U.S. Congressional investigators and other informed sources have suggested. Poindexter and North are expected to offer a similar point of view when they testify under grants of limited immunity from criminal prosecution. "They are going to say that they were following Reagan's orders," one well-placed Capitol Hill source said.

Casey, who died on Wednesday, went to his grave with his version of the truth. There is no doubt, however, that he played a very active role in every phase of the operation.

All of this will raise the potential for a major political crisis in Washington, as Reagan and his largely new batch of White House aides, led by Chief of Staff Howard Baker, hunker down to deny the assertions against the president.

Whose word will the American public buy? Reagan may not win this battle.

There already is a growing sense among American political pundits that hard, documentary evidence ("the smoking gun") will eventually surface, decisively undermining the president's case. It won't only be a matter of Reagan's word "against" those of his ousted advisers.

Vice President George Bush is also seen as seriously hurt by what has emerged. Secord revealed on Wednesday, for example, that both Reagan and Bush had personally telephoned North last November 25 on the day he was dismissed from the White House - to praise him for his patriotic and dedicated service. It was during that phone call that Reagan called North "a national hero." Like Reagan, Bush has consistently denied that he knew of the diversion of funds from the Iran arms sales to the Contras.

These hearings are scheduled to continue four days a week for at least three months with more than 50 witnesses slated to testify. There will be occasional distractions in Washington, such as Democratic presidential candidate Gary Hart's alleged tryst with a part-time Miami actress and model. But for the most part, the Congressional hearings will dominate the Washington agenda.

In effect, that means that the Reagan administration is unlikely to be in much of a position to take on very many other foreign policy initiatives. The top administration leadership may try to divert attention from the unfolding story as it emerges in Congress, but they probably will not succeed.

Thus, those Arab and Israeli leaders who had been hoping to see a major new U.S. peace offensive in the Middle East are likely to be in for a major disappointment. Reagan right now has other things on his mind as he enters the twilight of his presidency.

LEAVING ASIDE for the moment the problem of overcoming the Likud's opposition to the idea of an international conference, two problems still confront Israeli, Jordanian and American negotiators in paving the way to the coveted assembly in Geneva (or wherever); Palestinian representation, and Soviet participation.

The Palestine National Conference resolutions in Algiers - scrapping the 1985 PLO-Jordanian agreement and effectively breaking off ties with Egypt because of its peace treaty with Israel - have both complicated and eased the problem.

Chairman Arafat's acquiescence in the radicalization of the PLO has reinforced Israel's view that the man and his organization cannot be partners in a negotiation, and have gone some way towards persuading Egypt and Jordan that such an attitude is ineluctable. But at the same time, this radicalization has made it that much more unlikely that the PLO will in the foreseeable future move towards meeting those conditions that, in American and Arab eyes, and in conformity with the Yaviv-Sheflov formula, would enable some kind of PLO entry into the peace process.

The trouble here is that without PLO consent, there might be no Palestinian participation in the conference; and without Palestinians, Jordan and Egypt would not attend.

There is today an Israeli-American-Jordanian-Egyptian consensus that this problem (a) has to be resolved, (b) remains a tough one, and (c) may become amenable to resolution some months hence. That possibility envisages increasing Arab pressures forcing Arafat to soften his stand and agree to give a yellow light - or at least not to pose a red light - to some form of Palestinian representation at the talks.

Jordan and Egypt understand that there is no way that Israel can sit down with senior PLO officials or known terrorists at a conference table. On the other hand, Peres understands that the Arabs, including the Palestinians, cannot agree to representation by a bunch of people who would be regarded as collaborators.

So the consensus now sees the necessary Palestinian representatives as emerging from the great grey area lying between PLO officialdom and the Israeli occupation's Arab servants. But whatever the manner of selection and whoever the nominees, the representatives, all parties to the consensus understand, will require a nod or a wink or at least a non-objecting silence from Israel.

Jordan and the U.S. are not yet actively trying to line up possible Palestinian candidates for this role. It is still too early for this, both because the Likud obstacle must first be removed and because it is understood that Arafat is not yet ripe for the plucking.

Arafat has succeeded in alienating almost everyone in the Arab world - Syria, Egypt, Jordan, the Saudis - a not inconsiderable feat.

The PNC miscalculated badly regarding Egypt - showing insensitivity to Egyptian pride. In the coming months, as Arafat tries to carry favour and re-establish his place in the Arab world, he will come under increasing pressure from Cairo, Amman and Riyadh to moderate the PLO's stand. Eventually, it is hoped, these pressures will result in his signal or his silence on the question of representation.

SOVIET participation presents another sort of problem, which, while more easily soluble, offers policy-makers bent on reaching the conference an inscrutable enigma.

Regarding the Middle East, Gorbachev has made various untraditional, novel noises without so far even noticeably denting age-old Soviet policy. Indeed, some may see Moscow's chaperoning role at Algiers, where PLO unity was achieved at the expense of major radicalization of Palestinian positions, as destructive and inimical to the peace process.

But Israeli observers note that over the past three months, there have been substantially higher Jew-

The problem is how to persuade the players to join

Peace talks: the 'only game in town'

Benny Morris, Diplomatic Correspondent

ish emigration quotas; and that for the past year or so, Moscow has avoided using the term "Palestinian state" in its pronouncements on the Middle East. The Soviets also have, in various contacts, approved in general terms the idea of face-to-face Israeli-Arab talks - though apparently they told Syrian President Hafez Assad when he was in Moscow last week that they favoured an international conference with powers.

Jordan and Egypt believe that the Soviets will eventually fall into line, accept the consensus view of a largely ceremonial conference, and go some way towards meeting Israel's conditions for Moscow's participation.

But the U.S. and many Israelis remain sceptical, seeking some clear-cut, solid proofs and statements. There is a realization in Jerusalem and Washington that there is very little, if anything, either can do to pressure or persuade the Soviets to come in while paying the required price. But there is a hope that Gorbachev's Russia is a different Russia, and that this is, also, concerning the Middle East, will be different, and will include a positive attitude towards the peace process.

Some Israeli policy-makers now realize that the inflexibility of Israel's conditions for Soviet participation - a substantial change of policy on Jewish emigration and re-establishment of diplomatic ties with Jerusalem - and the public manner of their presentation were a mistake and that great powers, especially the Soviets should not be expected to take such lip from a small country lying down.

It is now felt in some circles in Jerusalem that Israel would do well to signal to the Soviets that there is room for maneuver regarding the conditions - say, by stipulating that only a portion of their implementation must be "up front," and that Israel might be willing to accept promissory notes on the remainder.

MEANWHILE, Israeli politics are dominated by the Labour-Likud rift over the conference. The U.S., accustomed to internal political divisions among its allies and client states and to the frequent appeals for U.S. support from one faction or another, is playing its cards very cautiously. Washington does not want to get involved with or to be



Arafat ... "succeeded in alienating almost everyone in the Arab world." (Camera Press)

publicly, clearly identified with one or other of Israel's factions. It does not want to add fuel to the flames. But, at the same time, it must continue to hold hands and signal the parties that it still supports the convening of an international conference along the lines of the agreed Israeli (Peres)-Jordanian-Egyptian consensus.

The Israeli-Jordanian-American negotiations of the past months have produced a solid body of agreement on the modalities of the conference, including no coercive or interfering powers for the plenum; agreements to be reached in bilateral geographic committees; attendance by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council; and the summoning of the conference by the secretary general.

The exact relationship between the conference plenum and the bilateral committees has deliberately been left rather vague, consciously enabling Jordan to say it is going to an international conference while Peres can say rightly that the conference will serve merely as a symbolic door to direct bilateral talks. Such constructive ambiguities are the stuff of diplomacy.

JORDANIAN Prime Minister Zaid Rifa'i, who was also prime minister in 1973, likes to recall that at the Geneva Conference in that year the assembled parties disagreed about the seating arrangement. But the problem being left for the actual conferees to sort out when they met,

it was settled in six hours flat. Being in the glare and limelight of history concentrated minds wonderfully.

But the Israeli, Jordanian and American negotiators also achieved a consensus on a number of "red lines," including the conditioning of attendance and the linking of any settlement to acceptance of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338; the renunciation of terrorism; the non-coercive nature of the Great Power participation; and the negotiation of substantive issues only by the bilateral committees.

OF THE three or four current players in the international conference game, perhaps the position and role of the U.S. is the most curious.

For years, Washington was sceptical about, indeed dismissive of, the whole idea. First of all, it was promoted, if rather quietly, by the Soviets. Secondly, it obviously complicated the achievement of direct Israeli-Arab talks, which have traditionally been favoured by the U.S. Thirdly, inviting the Soviets back to the Middle East when they were playing a far from constructive role vis-a-vis Israel and in the Arab world made little sense.

During the past two years of quiet diplomatic endeavour in the region, however, Washington came to understand and appreciate that the conference was the only game in town - if only because of Hussein, it was the *sine qua non* for entering peace talks.

Hussein does not have unrealistic expectations of such talks. He knows that he is not Sadat, Jordan is not Egypt and, above all, the West Bank is not Sinai. He understands the problems facing Israel's leaders.

Hussein wants a *de jure* relationship with Israel. He realizes that the existing *de facto* relationship is inherently unstable, both because of the rise of the national religious right-wing in Israel and because of the long-term threat of Islamic fundamentalism in the Arab world, which can undermine his and his successors' diplomatic juggling act in the area.

In the short term, Hussein realizes that now is the time. Otherwise, he must wait until the end of 1989 or 1990, because of the American presidential election, and Israeli elections. He understands that if "the reasonable Israel" embodied in Peres - of which the king spoke in his interview with the *Boston Globe* on Monday - cannot produce the goods now, it will be weakened, and Jordan will have to be content with "the unreasonable Israel" in future years.

But Hussein certainly prefers negotiating and reaching an agreement with an Israel led by a solid unity government rather than with a minority or bare-majority government. Hence, he hopes that Israel will manage to avoid elections and continue with the peace process within the current government structure.

Hussein is also very pleased with the current Syrian situation and policy. Syria has not actively interfered or tried to stymie Hussein's peace moves, and is weak because of severe economic problems and political isolation. This reinforces his feeling that now is the time.

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Teleview
Philip Gillon

IT IS MY considered opinion, after deep reflection, that we television viewers should go on strike until Israel's independence every week. After all, independence is such a wonderful thing, why should we only glorify it once a year? And on Independence Day, ITV goes to extraordinary lengths to provide us with imaginative programmes, meticulously planned so that they are not only good in themselves but also mesh together into an impressive organic whole. During the rest of the year, I have a feeling that nobody thinks very much about the programmes we get; somebody just sees to it that the various slots in the night's schedule are filled.

This particular Independence Day was better than most for those of us who abhor war, because it was illuminated by the light of the possibility of peace breaking out. For the imperialists and xenophobes, I suppose that the danger of peace cast a dark shadow over their fun. On television, as elsewhere, the emphasis was on peace having its victories no less renowned than war.

Pride of place as I distribute bouquets for the programmes must go to the Independence Day studio that functioned throughout the 28 hours between the ceremony on Mount Herzl on Sunday evening and the final *Hatikva* in the small hours of Tuesday morning. Gabi Gazit and Carmi Guy were brilliant, at all times natural and relaxed, giving an impression of being intensely interested in all the people they interviewed and the material with which they dealt.

But excellent as they were, they could not have been so impressive if they had not been given remarkable support. Producer Gideon Drori and director Meir Avihud, and the research team that hunted up those old newsreels, films, passionate themes and heroes and heroines of yesterday, had done a magnificent job.

I was particularly pleased that they handled the past without sentimental nostalgia and yet without patronizing contempt, strictly on its merits from today's perspective. Ben-Gurion's resignation, Ofra Navon's beauty, Teddy Kollek as a ship of a lad chaffing with Danny Kaye, Kishon's canal, the fashions, the music, the dances - it was all lovely, absorbing stuff.

Throughout the long day and night we had numerous so-called "entertainments," the best of which was, get-together of Emmy, the Actors' Association. Here again there was abundant evidence of the national ability to laugh instead of weeping.

THE LEAST successful proffering of the day was the Israeli film, *Return Drive*, made in 1982 and submitted as an Israeli entry at the Berlin Festival. This dealt with a frogman unit in which one member is killed, and the others have to relate to his widow.

There is a curious, and, I think, regrettable tendency in most Israeli films to avoid any suggestion of softness or kindness in human relations. Sentiment - even mawkish sentimentality - about a young man killed in action is permitted, but



Gabi Gazit: Brilliant, natural and relaxed.

otherwise, people treat each other with such bitter hostility it would excite adverse comment if exhibited by a dog to a cat that had scratched him.

In the film in question this brutality is displayed by the young widow and her late husband's parents in their contacts with each other. It always dominates Israeli screen love affairs, which are reduced to crude, joyless, sexual bouts.

There is an old story about the Russian man and woman, strangers to each other, sitting together in a compartment on an interminable train journey to Vladivostok. On the second day, he breaks the silence, saying, "It is very cold." She answers, "Yes." A day later he remarks, "It has got colder." She agrees. On the third day, he says, "Enough of this idle chatter. Let us make love."

In an Israeli film, the man and woman dispense with this idle chatter. The woman is not somebody to be wooed with charm, wit, flowers, or even common humanity: she is merely a warrior's plaything for an occasional half-hour when he is not doing heroic, manly things with his comrades.

Perhaps this stereotype is a hang-over from the days of the macho image presented by Moshe Dayan as the typical sabra. Perhaps it does reflect a choked-up incapacity to show emotion - apart from weeping at a graveside - that really exists. It certainly makes for dull, repellent and implausible films.

One scene in the film that strained credulity was the frogmen's orgy. For all I know, our frogmen do engage in such Bacchanalia; they are certainly entitled to do so. But the scene reeked of somebody saying, "It's high time we showed that Israeli commandos can live it up just like devil-may-care soldiers in films, so let's get hold of some bottles and some girls, and show the boys whooping it up." It was as unconvincing and artificial a scene as I have ever seen.

THE DOCUMENTARY about Ben-Gurion was something of a disappointment, because the advance billing had promised us a lot of new material to provide fresh insights

into the character and personality of an extraordinary man. In the result, it all seemed very familiar stuff to me.

Nevertheless, it was of enormous interest, as anything about B-G will always be. I was pleased to note the great affection with which his children and grandchildren spoke about him: there is a widespread impression that he neglected his children to attend to the affairs of the nation, and that they resented this.

Although he was accused of being too impatient to develop strong and intimate relationships with people, he had a great talent for focusing his intellectual curiosity on a person or a subject. His grandson told us how a request for a book about Roman history resulted in a two-hour discussion about Hannibal.

A Yeminite boy wrote to Ben-Gurion asking whether it was better to be a Yeminite doctor or Yeminite chief-of-staff. He received a long reply advising him to become a doctor, for two reasons: a doctor could also become chief-of-staff, and becoming a doctor would depend only on himself, not on getting appointed by other people. Later B-G visited the boy in his school, and in due course was a witness to his marriage.

I remember interviewing Ben-Gurion, when he was prime minister, about an acute crisis in Israel's relations with the U.S. government. He answered all my questions quickly and predictably, but spent most of the time he had allocated for the interview to questioning me closely about myself, my extended family, and the possibility of more South African Jews coming on alyah.

We heard how Ben-Gurion wanted, in 1967, to trade the occupied territories immediately for peace. How right he was. It has taken 20 years for half the nation - the more intelligent half - to realize this.

EVERY Independence Day for three years or so we have been given another episode of Julian Joy Chagrin's *The Orchestra*. When someone is repeated that often in Israel, it becomes a tradition as firmly established and immutable as if it had been handed down to us in stone on Mount Sinai. That being so, I cannot understand why this year we had to wait for our ration until the night after Independence Day.

As usual, it was terrific. I wonder if anyone in Television House has ever considered the possibility of giving us the whole series in weekly instalments? Still, this way we are given a motive to go on living for several more years, until we have seen every episode.

SPORTS

ATHLETICS From jet to tape

By PAUL KOHN
TEL AVIV. - The women stole the show with speed and glamour on the second night of the Hapoel Games athletics meet at the Hadar Yosef Stadium here before 1,500 spectators.

Alice Jackson, a 28-year-old financial analyst with Coca Cola in Atlanta, Georgia, arrived in Israel at 4:30 p.m. yesterday after an 11-hour flight, and by 6 p.m. was already loosening up at the track. Within the hour she won the 200 m. sprint, streaking away from Canada's Jillian Richardson in an Israeli all-comers' record time of 23.25 seconds. Richardson finished in 23.54, which

also bettered the previous record of 23.77.
Windle Pippa, of England, was third in 24.11. Jackson was fourth in the world indoor championships in Indianapolis in March, then timing 23.50 seconds. The diminutive, 5'4" beauty, who was the only woman athlete from the U.S. at the Hapoel Games, said she could not arrive earlier, as "I had some work to finish in the office."

A shock result was achieved by 20-year-old Diane Edwards of Manchester, England, when she won the 100 m. in an all-comers record time of 21.36. In this race, West Germany's Margit Klüger, who won the 1,500 m. on Wednesday night, was a clear favorite. But the slim Edwards came from behind on the final bend to scorch past Klüger, who timed 2:02.86.

RESULTS

FENCING: Fabrice D'Almeida of France won the men's Foil - title, beating West Germany's Dirk Schiffer 10-8 in the final. Third place went to Nissim Blank, who defeated Shlomo Eyal 10-3 in an all-Israel duel.

WOMEN'S HANDBALL (SCIT): Denmark-Israel 18-9 (9-5).

TABLE TENNIS: France won the men's team event, beating Israel 4-0 in the final. In the semi-finals, France defeated Germany 3-0 and Israel 4 came through 3-1 against Israel C. In the play-off for third place, Germany beat Israel

C 5-1. Final placings in women's team event, 1. France, 2. Israel A, 3. West Germany, 4. Israel B.

SHOOTING: British marksmen made a clean sweep of the medals in the men's event, in both individual and team dual pistol competition. Winner was Geoffrey Robinson, with 576 points, followed by James Harrison (573) and Andrew Lammont (569). The British A team took the gold medal, with 1718 points, followed by Great Britain C (1669) and G.B. B (1662).

BASKETBALL

By KENNETH KAPLAN
Lavon Mercer, the most effective 'big man' on the Israeli National basketball team, did not start the Hapoel Games contest in which Israel lost to West Germany 100-89 on Wednesday night in Jerusalem.

In fact, Mercer spent a full eight and a half minutes on the bench before coach Zvi Sherf sent him and Doron Skifa in for Howard Lassoff and Motti Daniel in an effort to level off what had the makings of a rout.

Mercer, who went on to score 25 points on the night to lead Israel's scorers, despite frequently being double-teamed by the Germans, did not start the second half either.

What was Sherf trying to achieve? "Our team has been together precisely two and a half days," Sherf told me after the game. "I'm trying to give all the players adequate time on court. Against Canada in Holon I got in 12 players, here in Jerusalem, 10."

Klein is back at Maccabi TA

It's official, Ralph Klein is returning to Maccabi Tel Aviv. Yesterday Klein concluded a deal with the Maccabi management whereby he will coach Maccabi for one season.

Klein has spent the last three years as coach of the visiting German national team. He succeeds Israeli National team coach Zvi Sherf, who has coached Maccabi for the past four years.

GOTEBOG, Sweden (AFP). - A header seven minutes before half-time by Stefan Pettersson gave IFK Göteborg a 1-0 win over Dundee United in the first leg of the UEFA Cup final here on Wednesday and left the Scots an uphill task in the second leg.

United can still complete the task on their own ground in two weeks' time but it will take another second leg spectacular from the side who have swept aside Barcelona and Borussia Moenchengladbach on the way to their first European final.

Their task was made harder by the shocking state of the surface at the Ullevi Stadium, which played a major part in the game's only goal. An unpredictable bounce in the hard

One eye on Games, another on Europe

"We have the European championship coming up at the beginning of June. It's important that the players have played sufficiently against good squads like Germany, Canada and Poland."

The European championship is also foremost on the mind of Germany's Michael Jackel, Wednesday night's top scorer with 28 points.

"Actually, I'd rather be in Germany right now," Jackel said (in perfect North American English) in reference to the heat. "But this tournament is important to us. A game every day in Greece in June will be gruelling and it's a great opportunity to prepare ourselves, stamina-wise."

Jackel, whose parents are German, moved to Europe from Canada five years ago and has been playing in the national team for the past two years. He was in the team that did so well in the European championships in 1985.

SWIMMING Galili record

By ORI LEWIS
TEL AVIV. - Zohar Galili, of Hapoel Givat Haim, set a new Israeli record in the 200m backstroke yesterday, with a time of 2 minutes 10.13 seconds. Unfortunately, Galili could not reproduce his form from the morning session in the final. He only managed to come fourth, clocking 2:11.69, over a second and a half outside his new record. The event was won by Bruno Dumas of France in a time of 2:09.49.

The closest event yesterday was the 200m freestyle, with all eight

contestants finishing within a second and a half of each other. The race was won by another Frenchman, Michel Pou in 1:56.17. In the other individual men's final of the day Brad Creelman of Canada won the 200m individual medley in 2:09.49.

In the women's finals, Anne Taylor scored another first for Canada winning the 200m butterfly in 2:16.06. Keltie Duggan, also of Canada, won the 100m breaststroke in 1:14.03 and Ramona Tersanschi of Romania won the 400m freestyle in 4:18.36.

WEEK-END EVENTS

Friday
Swimming: TAU 1000, 1630.
Basketball (SCIT): Netanya 1630, 1830, 2030.
Weightlifting: Tel Aviv 1830.
Handball: Rishon 1730.
Wrestling: Upper Nazareth 1830.
Cycling: Upper Nazareth through Galilee 0930.
Tennis: Hapoel North TA 1000.
Table-tennis: Rishon 1000.
Gymnastics: Jerusalem 1630.
Shooting: Ramat Hashikma 0930.
Judo: Uspalim TA 1500.
Karate: TAU 1830.
Sailing: Sder Yam 1430.
Fencing: Acre 0800.
Badminton: Sder Yam 0930.

Saturday
Athletics: Tel Aviv 1800.
Swimming: TAU 1830, 1930.
Basketball: Tenukha 1830, 2030.
Men's Basketball (SCIT): Netanya 1830.
Women's Basketball (SCIT): Netanya 1830.
Handball (SCIT): Men - Rishon 1900, Women - Rishon 2000.
Weightlifting: Tel Aviv 1830.
Wrestling: Upper Nazareth 1830.
Cycling: Upper Nazareth 0730 - Galilee.
Gymnastics: Jerusalem 1830.
Shooting: Rishon 1830.
Karate: TAU 1830.
Sailing: Sder Yam 1430.
Fencing: Acre 0830.
Handball: Haifa 1900.

BASEBALL

NEW YORK (AP). - Joe Magrane isn't the least bit intimidated by the major leagues.

The rookie left-hander, in just his third appearance since being elevated from the minors on April 24, pitched a four-hit shutout as the St. Louis Cardinals beat the San Diego Padres 3-0 on Wednesday night.

"I went right at the hitters," Magrane said.
Elsewhere in the National League, strong starting pitching helped New York over Cincinnati 3-0 and Los Angeles got past Pittsburgh 2-1.

Padres fall for Magrane

Houston took Philadelphia 3-2; Montreal downed Atlanta 6-2; and Chicago beat San Francisco 9-4.

AMERICAN LEAGUE
The Milwaukee Brewers have gone from the sublime to the ridiculous.

After winning 20 of their first 23 games, including a record-tying 13-0 start, the Brewers have not only dropped three in a row but have suffered the indignity of two consecutive shutouts for the first time since 1981.

"When you can't score runs, you can't score runs," Milwaukee manager Tom Trebelhorn said following the Brewers' 3-0 loss to the California Angels. "But give the guys on the hill some credit, too."

The guys on the hill for California were Mike Witt, who allowed four hits while striking out nine over seven innings, and Dewayne State, who allowed one hit the rest of the way for his first major-league save.
In other American League games, it was New York 4, Chicago 1; Kansas City 6, Toronto 3; Baltimore 6, Minnesota 0; Boston 6, Oakland 2; Texas 7, Cleveland 2; Detroit 7, Seattle 5.

EUROPEAN FOOTBALL

GOTEBOG, Sweden (AFP). - A header seven minutes before half-time by Stefan Pettersson gave IFK Göteborg a 1-0 win over Dundee United in the first leg of the UEFA Cup final here on Wednesday and left the Scots an uphill task in the second leg.

United can still complete the task on their own ground in two weeks' time but it will take another second leg spectacular from the side who have swept aside Barcelona and Borussia Moenchengladbach on the way to their first European final.

Their task was made harder by the shocking state of the surface at the Ullevi Stadium, which played a major part in the game's only goal. An unpredictable bounce in the hard

and rutted goalmouth proved United's undoing as Pettersson headed the winner in the 38th minute.

English Football League, Division One results: Coventry City 1, Manchester United 1.
Italian Cup quarter final, second leg results: Juventus 2, Cagliari 2 (aggregate 3-3, Cagliari go through on away goals); Inter Milan 1, Cremonese 1 (aggregate 2-2, Napoli 4 (Napoli go through 7-2 on aggregate); Parma 0, Atalanta 0 (Atalanta go through 1-0 on aggregate).
French Cup fifth round proper, second leg results: Auxerre 2, Lille 2 (Lille go through 5-2 on aggregate); Brest 1, Laval 2 (aggregate 2-2, Laval go through on away goals); Monaco 2, Bordeaux 1 (Bordeaux go through 3-2 on aggregate); Lyon 2, Marseille 2 (Marseille go through 5-2 on aggregate); Toulouse 2, Strasbourg 3 (Strasbourg go through 5-3 on aggregate); Lens 4, Poitiers 2 (Lens go through 8-2 on aggregate); Troy 1, Ales 0 (Ales go through 3-0 on aggregate); Reims 2, Martigues 0 (Reims go through 2-1 on aggregate).

NBA PLAYOFFS

Eastern Conference semifinals: Boston Celtics 126, Milwaukee Bucks 124 (Boston lead best-of-seven series 2-0).

NHL PLAYOFFS

Wales Conference finals: Montreal Canadiens 5, Philadelphia Flyers 2 (series tied 1-1).

Sultan's Pool - Programme of Events in the Hassenfeld Amphitheatre

May 26* THE JERUSALEM MARCH - top Israeli entertainers in a special performance to mark the 20th anniversary of the reunification of the city. Will be broadcast live on Israel TV.

May 30* JERUSALEM SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA (IPO), concert with soloist Yo Yo Ma, cello.

June 1 JAZZ GIANT MILES DAVIS, an Israel Festival, Jerusalem event.

June 4 THE EURHYTHMICS GROUP.

June 9* "INTOLERANCE", film on a giant screen, accompanied by the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, an Israel Festival, Jerusalem event.

June 13*

Sale of tickets to individuals and groups at the Municipality's Culture Department, 2 Rehov Hayel Adam (Tel. 342806, 226211) and Jerusalem ticket agencies.

* At these performances, numbered seating will be provided, and a smaller than usual number of tickets will be sold.

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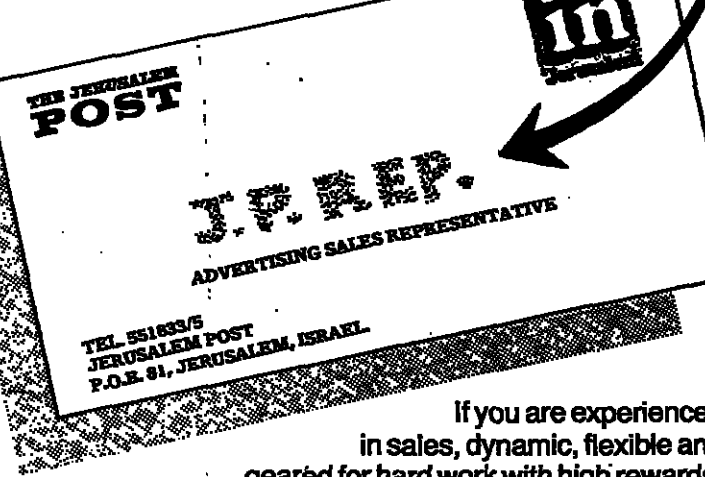
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TALPIOT, 3, furnished, air-conditioning, phone, short periods. Tel. 02-821938.

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Tel Aviv: 7:03 p.m. - 8:06 p.m.
Haifa: 6:57 p.m. - 8:07 p.m.
Beer Sheva: 7:01 p.m. - 8:09 p.m.
Eilat: 6:59 p.m. - 8:01 p.m.
Tora Portion: Aharat Moshe/Kedoshim

BEGINS
Jerusalem: 6:45 p.m. - 8:04 p.m.
Tel Aviv: 7:03 p.m. - 8:06 p.m.
Haifa: 6:57 p.m. - 8:07 p.m.
Beer Sheva: 7:01 p.m. - 8:09 p.m.
Eilat: 6:59 p.m. - 8:01 p.m.

ENDS
Jerusalem: 8:04 p.m. - 8:06 p.m.
Tel Aviv: 8:06 p.m. - 8:08 p.m.
Haifa: 8:07 p.m. - 8:09 p.m.
Beer Sheva: 8:09 p.m. - 8:11 p.m.
Eilat: 8:01 p.m. - 8:03 p.m.

Avraham Hatzroni, before Kabbalat Shabbat. Mincha 7:20. Shabbat 8:00. Kiddush Rabbi after service, honouring Synagogue Treasurer Mordechai Shiklark and his wife, Nechamah.

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IMMANUEL CHURCH (Lutheran) Tel Aviv-Yafo, 15 Rehov Beer Holman (near 17 Rehov Eilat) Tel. 521654. Saturday Service 11 a.m. Service in English every Sunday at 10 a.m.

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REDEMER CHURCH (Lutheran) Muristan Rd. Old City, Jerusalem. Sunday Services: English 9 a.m.; German 10:30 a.m. Tel. 282543, 828401.

CHRIST CHURCH (Anglican) opp. Citadel. 9:30 Family service. 7:00 p.m. Evening service. Bible study, Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.

BAPTIST CONGREGATION, 4 Narkis, West Jerusalem: Saturday services: 9:00 a.m. Bible study. 10:30 a.m. Worship. Tel. 22942.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH OF SCOTLAND near Railway Station. Sunday morning service. 10 a.m. Tel. 02-714659.

PENTECOSTAL WORSHIP SERVICE, MT. ZION FELLOWSHIP. 7:30 p.m. Fri., Sat., Sun., Tel. 829964.

ST. PAUL'S (Pentecostal), 32 Shivei Yisrael. 6:30 p.m. Saturday. Tel. 02-717988.

JERUSALEM

YERUSHALIM CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE. Friday, Mincha 7:10 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat 8:00. Mincha 6:45. Cantor: Naphtali Hershkowitz and Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir conducted by Eli Jaffe.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES. Conservative, 4 Agon, Friday, Mincha 6:00. Shabbat, Shabbat 8:30. Saturday, Mincha 6:30. Dvar Torah: Rabbi Dr. Yosef Green. Hazan: Haim Rutenstein.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE, Jewish Institute of Religion (Reform), 13 King David St. Sat. 9:30 a.m.: Information on college programs; guided tour of campus. Service: 10 a.m.

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JERUSALEM

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Saturday, May 9

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Bank profits 'jumping around'

Keeping tabs on the economic giants

Pinhas Landau

BANK HAPOLIM is the least unsuccessful of the major banking groups in Israel. First International remains in a class of its own, defying comparison with the other groups which suffer from a variety of ailments, mostly self-inflicted.

Those conclusions may be reached by glancing at the 1986 results (see accompanying table) published by the major banking groups during March and April this year. Beyond them, the figures are open to interpretation, and this is exactly what will be done in the course of the next two months.

There is now a well-established academic tradition that the main seats of higher education in this country, namely the Hebrew University and Tel Aviv University, engage in detailed analysis, during the last two months of the academic year, of the figures provided by the banks in the previous two months. They are aided and abetted in this by the Bank of Israel. By the end of June, however, the debate is sure to wind up, because the impecunious Israeli savants all scuttle off to the golden medina for the summer, to try and augment their pathetic salaries and catch up on what's happening in the market economy about which they lecture their Israeli students.

Whether this tradition has any value — other than to its participants — is open to question. The dissection of last year's results in the middle of this year is usually an exercise in pre-history, because the changes in the economy are so rapid that the figures, and often even the trends, are obsolete by the time the banks begin to publish them. The current year offers a classic example of this tendency.

Last year was an appalling one for most of the banks. This year has started off much better, for a number of reasons. In addition, a new ruling has required the banks to report quarterly results, instead of half-yearly ones as hitherto. Thus, at the end of April, with the year one-third gone and the second quarter well under way, the big banks were spouting tales of woe about 1986, in figures and words, while the

smaller ones (First International, Israel General and others) were already issuing quarterly results showing that the first quarter of 1987 was vastly different from the bulk of 1986. By June, of course, the banks will be looking to sum up their first half — although they don't actually publish the results until September — but the debate will still be on what happened in 1986.

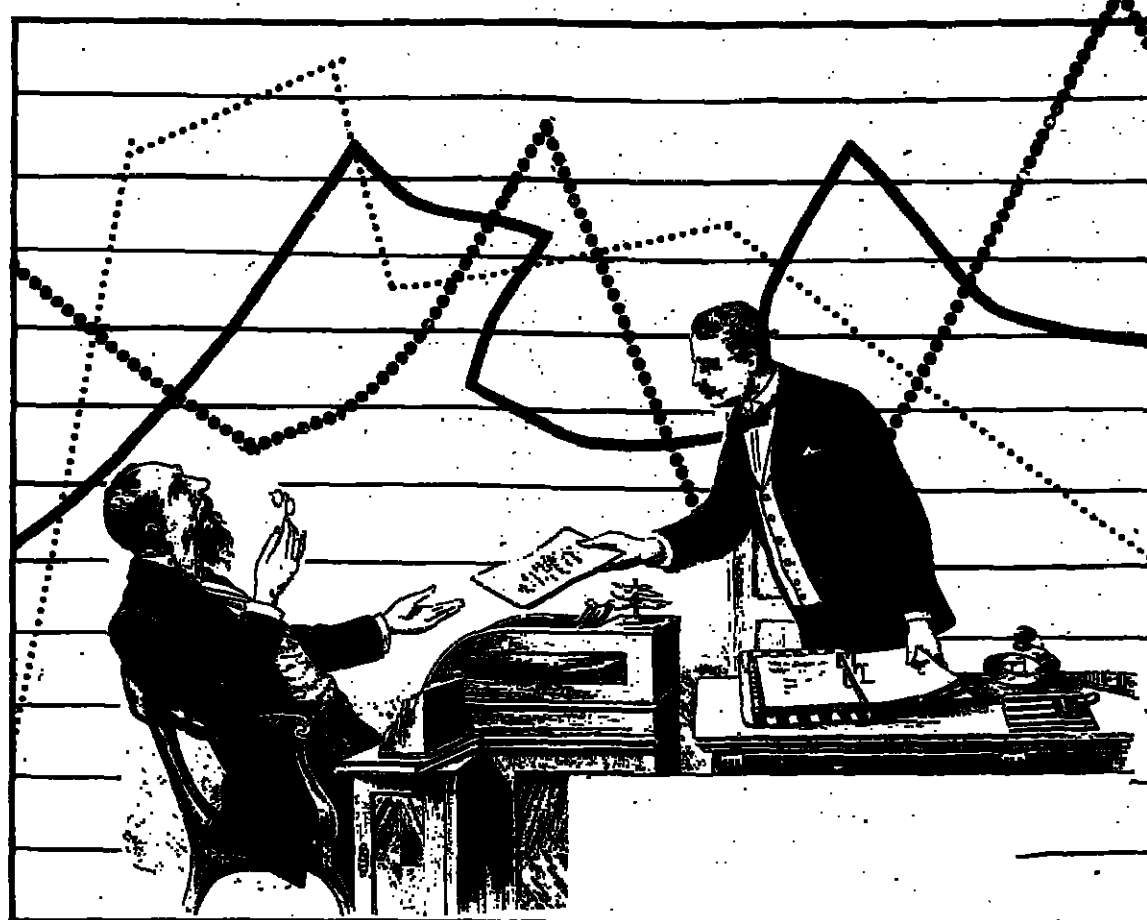
Last year the same thing happened, except in reverse. While discussing the supposed "strong recovery" they had made in 1985, they were at the same time bemoaning in internal forums the awful year shaping up in 1986. It later proved to be even worse than it had then looked.

Or take 1985. The discussion in April-June centred on the turnaround from huge losses in 1983 to meagre profits in 1984, and on whether the upturn could be maintained. Came the Economic Stabilization Programme of July 1985, and bank profits suddenly began exploding, as margins reached unheard-of proportions.

AND SO it goes. Asked how it was possible to take seriously financial reports that referred to a business environment long since left behind, and to manage institutions in these circumstances, Leumi CEO Zedek Bino admitted that the former was problematic and the latter was difficult. The volatility of the environment, and hence of results, was symptomatic of an unstable economy, he noted, and the events of recent months, with interest rates zooming first up and then down, represent a powerful illustration of what he meant.

But Bino's response, while correct, is only part of the story. The general economic environment is only one reason for the bank profits jumping around so much. The rest has to do with the banks themselves, and this also explains why the banks do not all move in the same direction, at the same speed.

TAKE, for example, the most important event in Israeli banking in 1986. This was the rapid development of lending to consumers and small businesses, to take the place of the traditional concentration of lending to large corporations, government and non-profit organiza-



Five main banking groups, comparative figures from financial statements for 1986, in NIS millions.

A) Profit and Loss Account:

	Hapo	Leumi	Disc	Miz	1st Int'l
Pre-tax operating profit	74.9	107.1	52.4	19.1	85.1
%age change from 1985	-68.4	-62.0	-49.6	85	-21.6
Gross return 1986	6.5	8.1	7.2	5.9	29.2
on equity (%age) 1985	22.4	17.6	14.2	13.1	36.0
Taxes paid, as %age 1986	63.3	80.5	76.2	—	72.6
of gross profit 1985	83.4	40.2	54.1	72.9	60.9
NET PROFIT 1986	24.9	4.4	2.4	-23.0	17.5
%age change from 1985	-74.2	-95.5	-94.0	85	-66.0
Net return 1986	2.2	0.3	0.3	-7.1	7.0
on equity (%age) 1985	9.1	7.8	5.5	2.6	14.0
Bad debt provisions 1986	220.9	185.9	47.6	55.1	4.0
as %age of loans to public	1.4	1.4	0.9	1.2	0.2

B) Balance Sheet, NIS billions:

	Hapo	Leumi	Disc	Miz	1st Int'l
Balance sheet total	38.9	35.7	18.8	8.5	4.2
%age change over 1985	-1.2	-10.3	-8.8	-3.1	+3.2
Deposits from public	15.3	23.6	13.8	3.9	2.6
%age change over 1985	-3.5	-8.0	-10.2	-3.5	+9.0
Loans to the public	15.5	12.9	5.2	3.2	1.9
%age change over 1985	-0.6	-5.0	-4.2	+6.3	+20.6
Shareholders' equity	1.16	1.29	0.68	0.29	0.25
%age change over 1985	+1.0	-2.7	-5.9	-10.3	+2.1
capital/assets ratio (%age)	3.0	3.6	3.6	3.3	6.1

concern, is much better than any collateral for collecting debts post mortem.

But this has brought them face to face with the fact that their staff, including the people supposed to be handling credit and the managers at almost every level, are not qualified to assess customers on this basis. As a result, each bank is engaged in crash courses to retrain personnel to handle the new situation. This is going to take some time, but it has begun.

The banks are hampered in their retraining by the fact that they haven't hired new people for years, and that able, young people are not anxious to work for banks today, due to their terrible image and the ludicrously low salaries that the banks pay, as well as the unavailability of attractive career-advancement prospects as the banks continue to shrivel.

Personnel problems are the overriding medium-term problem for the Israeli banking industry. Having to compete with other areas of the economy that are growing while theirs is shrinking, the banks are engaged in a struggle with at least one, and possibly both, hands tied behind their backs. They find it difficult to pay decent wages to good people — and the repeated scandals over top bankers' pay only compounded this problem.

They are also in the exquisitely awkward position of needing to fire many older, untrainable or just plain inefficient staffers, while at the same time needing to take on new people, especially young and highly-qualified ones, to fill jobs that their

existing work force is not cut out to handle. Selling this pair of incompatible ideas to works committees and unions, when management has lost most of the credibility it had, is a daunting task.

Furthermore, the prospect of government ownership, whether formal or through some second-stage "arrangement" to go into effect in October 1988, makes the chances of attracting good people even bleaker.

But the new bank managements are increasingly convinced that the pat formula of "cut and save," which the Bank of Israel, and the government in general, seems determined to impose on them, will not solve their problems. This feeling underlies the growing backlash by bankers that apparently will become an important feature of the banking scene as this year progresses.

The main way the banks will regain their health, the bankers believe, is by increasing revenues, not by cutting costs. Above all, they believe but cannot bring themselves to say aloud, the across-the-board solutions that the central bank is peddling will not bring salvation to a bunch of disparate entities which, despite being lumped together as "the banking system," have radically different problems demanding widely differing solutions.

The issues raised in this and the previous article, namely ownership now and in the future, management structure, lending policies and personnel problems, as well as the areas in which each bank might be expected to cut and in which to expand, will be considered in a concluding article.

tions and other major borrowers. This is a process that began, from almost nothing early in 1986, and picked up steam as the year advanced. It has continued into 1987, and will remain the key trend this year and probably for a long time to come.

If the gross figures for loans to the public are considered (see table), it would seem that some banks played a much more prominent role than others in this process. Leumi, apparently, was not involved, and Hapoalim also appears to have been sidelined, while other banks, especially First International, plunged into this field of activity with gusto.

Such, however, was far from the case. In many respects, it was in fact the Big Two that actually led the process. Why then, did their total loans fall? Because the amounts involved in consumer and small-business lending were, by their standards, negligible, while an increase of a few hundred million shekels was, for First International, a major jump in total loans. In other words, pro rata the smaller banks grew faster and their profits will grow more, especially this year. But in absolute terms, the quantities of credit involved in the lending programmes of the biggest banks far outshone their small rivals.

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all experience shows that these reasons are self-serving, and are often hollow excuses or coverups. When things go wrong, as they inevitably do in the end on these clandestine and hush-hush operations, the damage is much greater than it need be.

The growth of new types of lending didn't just happen. It was a natural outgrowth of two trends that had existed for many years, until the mid-1980s. One was that demand for loans had always outstripped the supply of funds available, so that the banks had lent to the biggest borrowers, on the assumption that these were the safest. That comfortable illusion has been decisively shattered by the cruel realities of recent years. The old adage, that "the bigger they are, the harder they fall" has proven all too true.

Since the old and trusted borrowers were no longer the right address for credit, new ones had to be found. These were, by default (literally and metaphorically), the small firms and individual borrowers that had previously been unable to get a loan. The imposition by the Bank of Israel of lending limits on how much each major firm or conglomerate could borrow from each bank, merely added regulatory force to the emerging business situation.

The second factor was even more fundamental, something that has been happening all round the world. Economic growth, even within the context of generally stagnant economies such as Israel's, has been concentrated in small and medium-sized companies, and not among the older and more dominant firms in each industry. Banks that wish to grow have to expand their business in these growing sectors. In the Israeli context, where the banks are shrinking overall, growth in one sector can only come by other sectors getting less in absolute terms, not merely growing relatively more slowly.

LAST YEAR, as noted, was the start of this fundamental realignment of Israeli banking policy and practice. It has immediately high-

lighted two other major problems, that affect all the banks to a greater or lesser extent, but that do not show up in the balance sheet and profit and loss figures, and that will therefore probably be ignored by most analysts.

In order to lend money to many people, such as households, self-employed, small firms and so on, the banks have to have lending officers who understand how to lend money. This is itself a major revolution, for under the old system the people in charge of loans at the branch and even area management levels, were generally clerks who filled in forms, and made sure payments were being met and technical problems followed up.

Lending officers, however, have a much more challenging and important task. Now that the supply of loan funds is increasing and the demand from the older customer base of big borrowers is being cut-off, it becomes necessary to decide who should get how much. This is done on the basis of creditworthiness, and this concept has finally begun to move Israel in the direction of the Western understanding of that term.

Creditworthiness means whether the borrower is capable of meeting his repayments over the duration of the loan — i.e., is it a going concern, of whatever size? This involves emphasizing things like cash-flow and corporate management qualities, which Israeli banks have no experience in measuring, either quantitatively or qualitatively.

In the old days, their main consideration in giving loans was what collateral the borrower could offer, on the grounds that the bank had to be protected against the eventuality that, for whatever reason, the borrower would not be able to meet the repayment schedule and the bank would have to foreclose. Having discovered that, in a small economy in a recession, collateral is usually unrealizable, be it shares (e.g. the UKM and Balas) or real estate (Solei Boneh), the banks have learned the hard way that credit analysis, based on seeing the borrower as a going

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Botha's last chance

ONLY the radicals on both ends of the political spectrum in South Africa will get much joy from the results of this week's parliamentary elections. Moderates, both within South Africa and without, have been left wondering how President P.W. Botha will manage to translate the substantial victory of his National Party into a coherent programme of reform for his troubled country.

The electoral success of the small white-supremacist Conservative Party, which now appears set to replace the liberal Progressive Federal Party as the official opposition, will put President Botha on notice that his policy of cautious reform, grudging as it has been, is still too much for a sizeable chunk of his Afrikaner constituency. At the other end of the spectrum, the heavy losses suffered by the PFP will undoubtedly reinforce the view of increasing numbers of black radicals that a multi-racial society will never be achieved through parliamentary means.

If there is any cause for hope in the election results, it is in the gains registered by a trio of reformist defectors from the National Party and the thirty-five per cent of the electorate which did not cast a vote. Common political wisdom holds that the bulk of the abstainers were urban Afrikaner moderates whose antipathy for the predominantly English-speaking PFP left them with no party to support.

President Botha, then, has very little room for maneuver, trapped as he is between the surging right and the reformist expectations of the Afrikaner intelligentsia and business community. If past experience is anything to go by, he will contend with the opposing forces on his left and right by dithering on the spot.

Yet that is precisely what he cannot afford to do. In the eyes of the West, including Israel, President Botha has received a final mandate to abolish apartheid. He has promised to establish a National Council for negotiations with black leaders, and that he must do. Even if he does attempt to face down the wrath of the right, there is no guarantee that he will find black negotiating partners who are both amenable to his advances and authentic in the eyes of their community. Significantly, Zulu leader Mangosutho Buthelezi, the most moderate of the authentic black leaders, said yesterday that the election results had left "no place for negotiations between black and white."

One of the more remarkable features of the election was the unprecedented stayaway from work staged by some one-and-a-half million black workers and students on election day. This was a demonstration of strength and organizational ability. It highlighted the increasing fragility of white politics in South Africa. The blacks have the numbers and, increasingly, they are learning how to wield them. If steps are not taken soon to meet black aspirations, black violence and white counter-measures could make parliamentary politics irrelevant.

President Botha, therefore, faces some stark choices. He can be cowed by the right, clamp down even harder on dissent and relegate reform to the realm of talk only. Or, having received a new mandate, he can begin to mould a multi-racial South Africa in defiance of the rightist trend of the election. Under South Africa's new constitution, elections to the tricameral parliament have to be held in 1989. The Western world will be closely watching his actions over the next two years. He is unlikely to get another chance.

DEMJANJUK ON TRIAL

(Continued from Page 2)

recently with regard to the tips of a person's fingers, his lips, ears, eyes and entire face.)

In a graceful phrase, Epstein then said that a signature, to be genuine, must show "careless abandon." This he followed up with the more prosaic qualification that it must bear evidence of an "effortless natural flow."

He added that an examiner must know the range of variation of a signature, "since no man signs always the same way." But he qualified this by saying that "a tremor or hesitation indicate forgery."

Epstein had been to the U.S. embassy in Frankfurt recently, where he examined sample signatures of Striebel, which had been sent there from the federal archives in Berlin. He also studied Teuffel's signature. "In a genuine signature, naturalness and speed are unconscious to the writer," he said.

Epstein was later asked why he did not personally get signature samples from Striebel before he died last August. He replied that this was not the best form of examination. "You may cause the writer to be nervous or fearful. You also offer him the opportunity to try and disguise his writing."

Using a blow-up of the ID card placed on a board, Epstein went over the two signatures stroke by stroke and letter by letter; he also examined the space between the letters.

When the expert was about to say something about the Demjanjuk signature on the ID card, Sheftel objected, because no such comment had been in the written opinion Epstein had earlier submitted to the prosecution and defence. It also emerged that Epstein had not testified on the Demjanjuk signature at the Cleveland trial.

Levin asked Shaked whether

there was a problem here. When the answer was in the affirmative, the judge ruled that the witness would not be permitted to testify on the Demjanjuk signature.

On cross-examination, John Gill asked Epstein whether he was familiar with a "forgery factory" located in Soviet Georgia. The answer was "no."

Gill then wanted to know whether Epstein had any experience with Russian documents. The witness replied that he had in the past dealt with many German and Russian documents. These included German *Dienstausweise* (service passes), municipal documents and adoption papers, he said.

Gill then asked whether Epstein was familiar with the "standard and exemplar" method of gauging the authenticity of one document against other types of the same class. (Epstein knew the concept.)

Gill: "Do you know that the ID card is one of its kind and that therefore there is no scientific proof of its authenticity via the standard and exemplar method?"

Epstein: "This does not preclude the possibility of authentication through signatures. My office gets many documents from China or Korea, for instance, for which no original 'standard' counterparts are available. Yet we manage to verify them."

Gill asked the witness about the two holes in the photograph glued to the ID card. Epstein said he had checked them and thought they were caused by stapling, rather than by pins. "Since pin-holes are often at an angle, I opt for stapler holes."

Epstein also said that most U.S. passport photos are stapled, "but not to the passport." They are stapled during processing, he explained, so they don't get lost.

Epstein's cross-examination will continue on Monday.

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THE RECENT history of the war in Lebanon is an object lesson in the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of waging war without a national consensus. Is the same true of the pursuit of peace?

Whether or not there are elections soon and irrespective of their outcome, the present national cleavage is certain to continue. It touches the heart of things, the way we define ourselves. It cannot be resolved by an electoral count.

True, democratic theory permits a majority to have its way. But when it comes to matters that hit men where they live, that affect basic beliefs, the map not just of the nation's boundaries but of its psyche, then a reliance on democracy as a mandate for policy bears with it a threat to the fabric of the body politic itself.

The best way to deal with questions that can't be answered is by not asking them. The best way to deal with the peace process is to concentrate on the process, not on the peace. The question, what is Israel?, can no more be answered than can that other fundamental definitional issue: Who is a Jew. Neither should be raised, nor need they be.

SHIMON PERES has pointed out that any process of negotiations with Jordan would be protracted and would deal initially with functional,

Peace without consensus

Allan E. Shapiro

rather territorial, arrangements. This is consistent with his long-held view, favouring the *de facto* establishment of a condominium, or system of shared rule, between Israel and Jordan in the administered areas.

This would be an implementation of the transition arrangement, provided for in the Camp David Accords, which already have Egypt's acquiescence. It would confirm and stimulate the present trend of Jordanian policy, of which the Jordanian five-year development plan for the West Bank and the opening of a bank in the territories, under joint Israeli-Jordanian supervision, are examples.

An emphasis on functional compromise would have a fair chance of appealing to some elements in the religious camp. As it involves no transfer of sovereignty over any por-

tion of the Land of Israel, it raises no halachic problems. Religious nationalist extremists would find their influence diminished to the dimensions of their numerically-limited circle of adherents.

The isolation of the fanatical extremists is a necessary element in a pragmatic, non-ideological process of accommodation with Jordan.

Gush Emunim has already crossed the line, as regards its legitimacy in the national political debate. This occurred when it reversed its original position and moved from condemnation to support of the Jewish underground terrorists. Since then, the pace of its drift toward Kahanism has increased, as witness the recent antics in Jericho (a focal point of Gush Emunim activity, whenever there is a possibility of a deal with Jordan), in which the Bloc of the Faithful advised the Arab inhabi-

tants to be satisfied with their colour television or run the risk of expulsion in the next round of Arab-Israeli fighting. Any political force that can have a Daniella Weiss as its spokesman is already on the path to oblivion.

WHILE PERES has carefully avoided mention of territorial arrangements, the issue of territorial compromise is raised constantly by the Likud opposition.

It would be a good idea to put this idea on ice. The present coalition agreement specifically rules out annexation of the territories for the duration of the term of the national unity government.

It is worth considering a parallel commitment on the part of the Labour leadership that no agreements regarding a change of sovereignty in the administered areas would be entered into without prior recourse to general elections.

Such a pronouncement would undercut a major element in Likud opposition to the convening of a peace conference. There would be no point in forcing elections now, when its basic ideological position would be preserved, pending developments, speculative at present, that would make recourse to the ballot-box unavoidable.

The Likud would then be forced to

choose between the fortunes of elections on the unappealing issue of opposing a conference and the continuation of the present coalition government until such time as the territorial issue becomes actual and concrete.

ON THE Jordanian side as well, it is reasonable to suppose that there will be no enthusiasm for a clear determination of the territorial issue. They have their own consensus problems to contend with.

Pragmatic, functional arrangements that benefit the Palestinian Arabs, particularly if they involved the end of direct Israeli rule in the major West Bank urban centres, would probably be welcome, as long as they leave open the ultimate Palestinian demands to independent statehood. Much like Gush Emunim on the Israeli side, the PLO extremist position would undergo erosion, with isolation of the militants.

While no statesman on either side can be expected to say so, the chances of the peace process depend on finding ways to keep it moving, without reaching the point of decision that neither side can afford to take. The success of the process entails finding ways to leave the ultimate issue of territorial sovereignty open indefinitely.

The writer is a political scientist.

READERS' LETTERS

THE SOVIET DROPOUTS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - The recent letter of Robert L. Israeloff, President of Hias, concerning the Soviet Jewish dropouts, presented a false picture of the problem.

We were granted a splendid historic opportunity to save Russian Jewry and to give it new life as well as strength to the Jewish State. About 30,000 to 50,000 Jews were allowed to leave Russia annually. The Soviet authorities made it clear that they were allowing Jewish citizens to leave exclusively and explicitly for one destination: Israel. And so was it marked on each Soviet exit permit.

In the light of Russia's historic rejection of Zionism and the fierce opposition of its allies, the Arab countries, the opening of the gates exceptionally for Jews to go to Israel was a tremendous concession on its part and a miraculous achievement for the Jewish people. That achievement has been miserably squandered through the irresponsible aid given by Hias and the Joint. They seduced the Soviet Jewish emigrants, with American goodies to change their destination and proceed to the United States, which is against Soviet policy and interests.

The Soviet Jewish emigrants ask for Israeli affidavits and gain Soviet exit permits to settle in the Jewish State while holding Israeli visas conferring on them citizenship then misuse them to obtain entry into Italy, on the false pretence that they are on their way to Israel, when they are actually on their way to be transformed into "persecuted homeless refugees," in the hope of gaining entry to the United States. All this is an awful chain of lies and swindles. Thus Hias has been organizing and

aiding a mass movement of fraud and deceit in a systematic and wholesale form.

It is a grievous humiliation of the Jewish State and a gross insult to the Soviet Union. On the one hand, this refugee status repudiates the existence of a Jewish State. On the other, it denotes that the Jews left Russia not in order to settle in their homeland, but to escape from persecution and that they prefer the capitalistic style of life to the communist one. No person, no country, and surely no superpower, wants to be cheated and insulted in that way.

Hias's craving for "clients" ignored the repeatedly stern warnings of the Soviet diplomats that they would close the doors to Jewish emigration. And where did Hias lead those emigrants? To America, where intermarriage has reached the alarming rate of 40-50 per cent; where more than two thirds of Jewish children do not get any Jewish education; and where demographic studies predict the loss of 80 per cent of their numbers to assimilation within the next few decades.

It is nothing less than impudence on the part of Hias's president to criticize Israel's prime minister for requesting the U.S. to withdraw refugee status from Soviet Jews. Surely, as long as there exists a Jewish State, there are no Jewish refugees. The gates of Israel are wide open for all Jews in need of aid of comfort. They can find shelter in their own homeland, where they are loved, where their destiny is in their own hands, and where the survival of their children as Jews is assured.

RABBI DR. Y. KEMELMAN,
Head of Beth Din,
Sydney, Australia.

ISRAEL'S DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - Harry W. Weber's article, "Two reasons why Israel must keep the West Bank" (April 28) is a convincing argument why we should get out of the West Bank unless we are prepared to impose on our society all the problems South Africa is trying to get rid of.

No doubt we have a historic right, and possibly even a "divine" right, to settle and eventually annex the West Bank. But it might be prudent to pay heed to Benjamin Franklin who is quoted to have said: "Not everything one has the right to do is best to do."

Weber maintains that Israel must hold on to the West Bank for reasons of security. This argument may have been valid in the past when the enemy was peering down on us through the sights of a Lee Enfield rifle, or when the danger lurked from the man about to fire a 25-pounder from just beyond the hill. However, the source of danger in this day and age is the man with his finger on the button of a missile launcher in Damascus and beyond.

Obviously there are no perfect solutions to the problems of the West Bank, but Weber ignores the immense damage to our moral and ethical fabric caused by our continued occupation of that area. Recent history is full of examples of how ruling over an unwilling people inevitably brutalizes the ruler, and brings about an erosion of his morality and ethics. We only have to look at the arrogant eccentricities of Gush Emunim and their contempt for the laws of our land, to bring home to us how far we have already travelled along that sad and dangerous road.

However, Weber's most dangerous argument is conveyed in the sentence: "Arabs living in Judea and

Samaria should enjoy local autonomy and individual rights, but must accept the fact that in the Jewish State, they will not be granted the right to vote on national issues." These vague pseudo-constitutional abstractions sprouted in South Africa like mushrooms during the Verwoerd era and have left that country with a terrible legacy from which the present South African regime is frantically trying to extricate itself. In our case, Weber is asking us to choose between a Jewish State without democracy or a democratic state without a Jewish future. However, I believe the vast majority of Israelis will want to opt for a democratic Jewish State.

ITZHAK UNNA
Haifa.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - As part of the programme to extend the range of its volunteer activities, Hadassah-Israel Branch of Haifa and the North is planning a festive fashion show at Danish Interiors in Stella Maris, French Carmel, on Saturday evening, May 9, at 8 p.m. The revenue will be donated to the pediatric departments in the Hadassah hospitals at Ein Kerem and Mt. Scopus.

New volunteers, from Haifa and the Northern area, who wish to participate in these activities for the benefit of the community, should call Mrs. Helen Langbank, at 04-381026, or Mrs. Rosalie Lacher, at 04-383552, for further details.

ELI HACHOEN
Spokesman
The Hadassah Council in Israel
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INSENSITIVE APPOINTMENT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - The recent Post feature article on the new Consul-General for the southern United States - who happens to be an Israeli Arab - misses the point entirely. No one questions the fact that individual involved is quite capable and skilled, and that he will do his best to represent Israel.

If Israel were an ordinary country then such attributes would be sufficient, regardless of ethnic or religious background. But if Israel is a unique phenomenon - as millions of Jews believe - and is the culmination of millennia of Jewish praying and yearning and suffering, then the appointment of a non-Jew to represent it is wholly misplaced.

If one's heart does not leap at the sight and history of the western wall, for example, can that heart truly speak for the people and state of which that wall is a prime symbol? The Temple Menorah appears on Israel's official stationery: if one's soul does not respond to its history, can that soul represent the people and state of which that Menorah is a prime symbol? If one's spirit is not touched by Psalm 126: "When the Lord returned again the captivity of Zion, then we were like dreamers." Can that spirit understand the people who prayed in those words for 2,000 years of yearning?

Loyalty to his country is the *sine qua non* of a diplomatic representative. But it is grossly unfair to a non-Jewish representative of Israel to expect him to be loyal to anything more than to a political entity. Surely we cannot demand of him that he be loyal to the history and aspirations - religious, cultural, spiritual, national - of the people Israel.

The very fine individual selected by Israel's Foreign Ministry is thus placed in an ambivalent and ultimately intolerable situation. For example, can a non-Jewish consul visit a Jewish school and relate to the unique tradition of Jewish learning? Can he attend a synagogue on the Sabbath or on Holidays and relate to Jewish prayer? Can he be called to the Torah and pronounce publicly his gratitude to the God of Israel for His Torah? On a practical level, can he encourage aliyah to Israel? As a man of integrity, can he square the desire to retain, say, Judea and Samaria, with the aspirations of his own parents and grandparents?

One cannot help but think that Israel's Foreign Ministry has made of this fine public servant a "token Arab" - just as Galut Jews are often the token Jew - using him for its own transparent public relations considerations.

RABBI EMANUEL FELDMAN
Jerusalem (Atlanta).

CORRECT NEWSPAPER

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - May I draw your attention to the fact that the newspaper mentioned in Haim Shapiro's article of April 24, "1924 murder still inflames ultra-Orthodox passions," about the De Haan murder, was *Doar Hayom* and not *Hadoar*. I remember reading that newspaper in my childhood.

EMMANUEL MANN
Jerusalem.

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HOSTILE MIND-SET

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - Despite its friendly opening with praise for the many prominent American Jews with whom he has met, Jordanian Ambassador Mohamed Kamal's article of April 19 displays a hostile mind-set which cannot lead to peace. It is his effort to drive a wedge, he mistakenly says, between American Jews and the American Jewish community.

Such efforts by American Jews have been expressed limited to specific military matters and the Arab boycott of Israel. Repeated, explicit U.S. government statements and the positioning of U.S. naval forces belie the assertion that: "As a result of pro-Israeli efforts, the U.S. has patently ignored or minimized economic and strategic interests... in the Middle East."

The juxtaposition of \$40 billion in aid "drained" from the U.S. and the benefits of Middle East oil neglects the circumstances which made the aid necessary because of the Arab policy of opposing Israel's very existence, a process in which moderate Saudi Arabi helps arm extremist Syria and the terrorist PLO. In point of fact, much of the aid has been loans, not grants. Middle East oil has been a mixed blessing as producer manipulation forced prices up, to most of the world's detriment.

Ambassador Kamal asks why "Jews who have suffered so much are oblivious to the suffering of those displaced in the foundation and subsequent expansion of Israel?"

Yet Jews are sensitive to the suf-

fering of Arab refugees. But they also see the Arab contribution to the situation. An underlying source of suffering in refugee camps was clearly put by Dr. Clovis Maksoud, Special Envoy of the League of Arab States, in speaking to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco on June 16, 1975: "If we took measures to absorb them... we would... be leading the Palestinian people to abandon their peoplehood, to abdicate their rights, and to fragment their national entity into... the various Arab states. And that is what the Palestinian people do not want." Except for Jordan, no Arab country has been willing to give Palestinian Arabs the choice of become citizens or otherwise living normal lives in Arab countries.

Given the vast economic resources of the oil rich Arab states, the Arab refugees should have been afforded at least the same measure of assistance and welcome as that which Israel extended to Jewish refugees from Arab lands. Arab irresponsibility is deeper than the failure to welcome refugees. The Arab world was silent as Arabs attacked Palestinian refugee camps in 1987.

Rather than be concerned about how American Jews should try to change Israel, Arab leaders should become sensitive and open their hearts and homelands to the Arab refugees. Instead of pressing for endless detours such as international conferences, Jordan should proceed to work with the Camp David framework.

DR. JOSEPH LERNER
Jerusalem.

PALESTINIAN SOVEREIGNTY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - Making peace with the Palestinian people will be a long tortuous affair under the best of circumstances. Nothing in the more than half a century of conflict can lead one to be very optimistic. But one thing is certain in my opinion: there will be no way to make peace without the acknowledgement by Israel of at least five points. First, that we recognize the existence of the Palestinian people. Second, that they have a legitimate interest in sovereignty. Third, that the Palestinians themselves have the right to determine how and by whom they wish to be ruled (what else does sovereignty mean?). Fourth, that we have our own legitimate rights to security and the integrity of the Jewish state. Fifth, that we aim to do our utmost to live in peace with whatever

sovereign form evolves from Palestinian national consciousness.

We would be well advised to make our intentions in these areas very clear now, with or without an international conference. In making this clear in the form of a declaration, similar to the Balfour Declaration, we would not be giving anything away "in advance." We would simply be acknowledging reality. Moreover, we would strengthen the hands of moderates among the Palestinian people; we would gain considerable support from public opinion in the world and we would enter any negotiations, should they develop, with the clearly defined aim of helping the Palestinian people to achieve sovereignty (should they really want it) rather than have to acknowledge it bitterly and reluctantly at the end. Haifa.
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